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THE

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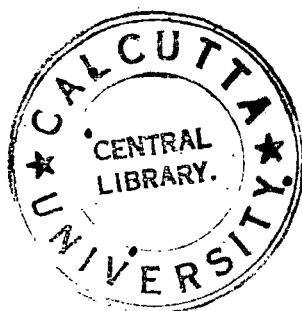
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The Calcutta Review



THE FUNERAL OF SHAH JAHAN

(From a Mughal painting in the Khuda Buksh Library, Bankipore,
through the kindness of Professor J. N. Samaddar)

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1925

THE CONVOCATION

His Excellency the Chancellor's Speech

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

For the second year in succession we meet in our Annual Convocation under the shadow of a great sorrow. The Vice-Chancellor has reminded us of those losses by the hand of death which we suffered in 1924, that year in which the University of Calcutta was, perhaps, more cruelly stricken by fate than in any preceding year of its history. To some of the long roll of Senators and University workers who passed away last year I have already paid my tribute. I have not yet within these walls expressed my sense of the loss which the University suffered through the death of our late Vice-Chancellor, following as it did so quickly upon the removal of that great bulwark of our University, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. As I said last year at the Convocation, when Sir Asutosh Mookerjee died, a feeling akin to consternation was created in our minds. In the midst of our sorrow and apprehension, however, we felt that though no one was capable of bringing to the administration of the University that unique combination of almost superhuman industry, knowledge, and intellectual grip which characterized Sir Asutosh

yet in Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu we had a great Bengali statesman and patriot who would, we hoped, be able, in spite of his frail health, to steer us through the troubled waters that still lay ahead of us.

During the summer of last year Mr. Basu's long indisposition gave us cause to fear that the night was closing round his day, but we hoped against hope that he might be spared to guide the destinies of our University for a little longer.

Our hopes were doomed to tragic disappointment and he died on September 16th. During his brief Vice-Chancellorship Mr. Basu gave evidence that those qualities which he possessed in abundant measure—fact, clear vision, patience, industry and a grip of educational realities—would be placed unreservedly at the service of his University. The measure of his capacity is the measure of our loss. Though there was no truer Bengali patriot than Mr. Basu, yet his patriotism did not blind his eyes to the imperfections of national institutions. His wide experience, both of Indian and Western systems of education, enabled him to place his finger unerringly on those points of weakness in our University and school education which need reform, and no public man, Indian or Englishman, in Bengal was so eminently qualified for the task of making those adjustments, with the consent of his countrymen, which are necessary if our system is to adapt itself to the rapidly changing needs of the time. I have lost in Mr. Basu a great personal friend one for whom I had both affection and admiration. I join with you to-day in mourning one who was a great statesman, and would, had he lived to complete his heroically accepted task, have proved himself one of the greatest of the many distinguished Vice-Chancellors whom the University has known.

I have one further duty to perform before I pass on. There is one remark in the speech to which we have just listened from Sir Ewart Greaves which, I am sure, comes straight to us from the anvil of personal experience. In paying his tribute to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's work, the Vice-Chancellor

has feelingly remarked that it is only when one comes in close contact with the work of the University that one realizes the stupendous burden which he bore for so many years. I am well aware of the almost insupportable burden of work which Sir Ewart Greaves has laid upon his back by accepting the office of the Vice-Chancellorship of this University. Work which would form a reasonable wholetime task for most men is cheerfully performed by him in addition to his ordinary day's work in the High Court, and I desire here to convey to him as Chancellor the grateful thanks of the whole University for which he sacrifices himself so unsparingly. Setting before himself the high standard of industry laid down by Sir Asutosh, he quickly grasped the multifarious problems of the University, and has at the same time won the confidence of his colleagues on the Syndicate and Senate. In your name, and on my own behalf, I thank him for the self-sacrificing public spirit, the industry and the sympathy which he has brought to our affairs.

The Vice-Chancellor has again reminded us that one of the great questions facing us is the future of that school of advanced studies which is somewhat inadequately named the Post-Graduate Department. Last year I said that the primary necessity was its stabilization. That is to say, we must examine and ascertain what measures are necessary to re-organize it, so far as it needs re-organization, and to plant its foundations firm and deep in the rock of financial stability. In pursuance of the suggestion which I made, a Committee has since been sitting, and I am well aware that its labours have been herculean. Like the Vice-Chancellor I must not try to anticipate the findings of that Committee. I have no idea what they will be. But whatever they may be, I should like to stress what appear to me to be the essential necessities of the position. *First*, all avoidable waste must be eliminated. *Secondly*, nothing must be allowed in any way to impair the importance of the Department as a centre of advanced teaching and research ;

thirdly, the colleges should be associated as much as possible in advanced work, not merely in the interest of economy, but in the interest of the intellectual life of the colleges themselves. It is no gain but a definite loss if, by being entirely divorced from any share in advanced university work, your associated colleges gradually become intellectually impoverished, so that their students for the B. A. degree cease to have the advantage of the stimulus which comes from contact with first-rate minds. *Lastly*, let me repeat the assurance which I gave you last year that Government will give you whatever financial assistance may be necessary to secure the permanence of this important department of the University. We have made a tentative provision of two lakhs of rupees in this year's budget and as soon as your essential needs have been ascertained and agreed upon, we hope to be able to fix a suitable annual grant.

The Vice-Chancellor's reference to the Matriculation Examination has reminded us that the University takes not only post-graduate teaching, but almost all grades of education under its maternal charge. I am glad to know that the reduction of the age-limit to 15 is on the whole generally welcomed as a necessity, even if, perhaps, as a regrettable necessity. But I am even more glad to know that it is hoped in the next few months to raise the standard of the Matriculation Examination. This is an urgent need from all that I hear, and when this reform has been effected it may be possible still further to reduce the age-limit for the Matriculation Examination or even to abolish it altogether. The subject of the introduction of teaching and examination through the medium of the vernacular introduces another debatable subject, but we have the authority of the Sadler Commission for making at least some change in the present system, and I trust you will come to a decision which both Hindus and Moslems can accept without demur, so that Government may find it a simple matter to pass orders on your recommendations.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are faced with many urgent and

difficult problems. Some of them the Vice-Chancellor and I have already mentioned : others such as the establishment of a Board of Secondary Education and the problem of medical education, I shall not discuss on this occasion as the time is not yet ripe for any public announcement on either of them. The former subject has been much delayed by the political crisis which for the last six months has deprived me of the advice of any Ministers. It will have to be dealt with by the new Minister for Education as soon as he is appointed and I hope to be able to resume the conferences between the Government and the University authorities before I leave Calcutta for the hills. My desire as Chancellor is to identify myself with the interests of the University in these and in all other matters, and this assurance I can give you to-day that if as Governor I find it necessary to agree to any educational policy in the interest of those for whom this University is less directly responsible than the Government, you can rely upon me as your Chancellor to see that the interests of the University, whether financial or otherwise, are not made to suffer thereby. That is a definite pledge by which you can hold me bound during the remainder of my term of office, and in all the problems of University administration or reconstruction, I think our progress would be more rapid if you would look upon me as the champion of University interests in the event of any difference of opinion with the Government.

Let us, in the first place, try to discover the points on which we can all agree and from that common standpoint we shall be the better able to approach the points on which we differ. In one matter I imagine that we are all agreed. We all desire the uplift of Bengal through the spread of education. As to methods we may differ ; our ideals are one. I desire with you, for instance, the maintenance of a real centre of advanced teaching and research in Calcutta, because I know that so far from Bengal having too many educated people, it has not enough. Our education may not all

of it be of the right kind, some of our standards may, perhaps, be too low. If I may quote a saying of Mr. Fisher, with whom, when he was Minister of Education, I was privileged to work before I left England, we too may sometimes have cause to say that "the wrong things are being taught by the wrong people in the wrong way." "But if so," asked Mr. Fisher, "who is responsible?" "The culprit," he said, "is the nation. It cannot be too urgently represented that the future of the children of the people, so far as it is affected by education, depends on the number of men and women in the community who can be found to insist on a high educational standard in their various localities."

These words were applied by Mr. Fisher to schools in England, but there is no doubt that in many of our schools also the wrong things are being taught by the wrong people in the wrong way. But admitting this, what is the remedy? We must bring those of our students who are to be teachers into contact with the highest possible intellectual stimulus and under the best possible of all those other agencies which contribute to the making, intellectually, physically and spiritually, of the good citizen. So long as your Post-Graduate Department is doing this—it is preparing men capable of raising the present low standard of the schools, and is thereby contributing to the making of that Bengali nation which is on the anvil to-day. If you can in Calcutta create and maintain a real centre of original thought and culture, its effect on the schools and so on the nation at large must eventually be felt. So without entering into details as to forms and methods which the Committee is at present considering, I repeat that in some form or other your Post-Graduate Department is a civic and national necessity; for from it will or should emanate those currents of thought which will in time break down the barriers of prejudice and ignorance which at present hamper the nation's development. In particular I would express a hope that the band of writers and thinkers whom you are gathering in this home of learning may produce

in their pupils a passionate desire to carry the torch of knowledge to every village in Bengal. When every young man who leaves your doors with the hall-mark of your stamp upon him also bears upon his heart the imprint of a burning passion to extend the light of knowledge to those millions of men and women who make up the bulk of the Bengali nation—the masses—then you will know that you are doing a work for Bengal that is of more value to it than the production of many volumes of research. For gradually you will produce that organized public opinion which must be behind any Minister of Education who is bold enough to tackle the problem of school education, both primary and secondary, and to face its financial implications. Just as in the words of the Sadler Commission's report "the main economic purpose of the co-operative movement is to democratise credit, one chief aim of the educational institutions of India should be to democratise knowledge." The cure for most of your ills is education, education and more education, not for the few, but for the many. Three decades ago, the Commissioners on Technical Education went from England to Switzerland. A Swiss witness said to them: "We know that the mass of our people must be poor; we are determined that they shall not also be ignorant." As a result of that spirit the Swiss in waging war against ignorance, put poverty to flight as well, and so it might well be in Bengal. Let your University and especially its Post-Graduate Department be a centre of thought and culture from whence can flow those continuing currents which will democratise knowledge, and diffuse a steadier judgment and a better-informed opinion through the whole body of the community. Until the ultimate urge of its stimulus reaches right down through the secondary schools to the primary schools and the villages, you are not fulfilling your function in that full measure which the nation expects of you. Therefore, I say, whatever you teach your young men or your advanced students of research, send them out filled with an enlightened patriotism, with a healthy impatience of ignorance and prepared to wage a

holy war against illiteracy until this reproach on the fair name of Bengal is for ever removed.

With you all, and especially with the young men and women who are to-day receiving those parchments which testify to their intellectual attainments, I would like to leave this suggestion of a holy war against ignorance, wherever it is found. Culture loses half its savour, if it is enjoyed in the midst of ignorance. It is idle to dream of building the nationhood of Bengal upon a foundation of widespread illiteracy. Educate the people and other problems will solve themselves. Some of you, perhaps, know that wonderful speech of Mr. Gladstone at Glasgow in 1892. In a striking *simile* he told of that ancient legend of the two Lacedaemonian heroes called Caster and Pollux—

“honoured in their life and more honoured in their death, when a star was called after them. Upon that star the fond imagination of the people fastened lively conceptions, for they thought that when a ship at sea was caught in a storm, when dread began to possess the minds of the crew, and peril thickened around them and alarm was giving place to despair, that if then in the high heavens this star appeared, gradually and gently, but effectually, the clouds disappeared, the winds abated, the towering billows fell down to the surface of the deep, calm came where there had been uproar, safety came where there had been danger, and under the beneficent influence of this heavenly body the terrified and despairing crew came safely to port.”

Ladies and gentlemen, can we not somehow, in the midst of the troubles which surround us, find our Castor and Pollux—our day star of hope—in this sacred nation-building task of education? When we differ and are about to despair of the possibility of progress at all, let us gaze up at that star and remind ourselves that our aims are one, that in the prosperity and happiness of the people of this nation is the ultimate and

final object of all our common efforts. For the goal to which we all aspire is the good of Bengal, and with that star to guide us we may safely set sail into the unknown seas of the future, assured that should we ever be depressed by forebodings or sunk in despair, one glance at that star will remind us of our common ideal, and bring us safely into the harbour of tranquillity of friendly associated effort, and of triumphant co-operative achievement.¹

¹ Delivered at the Calcutta University, February 21, 1925.

THE HOUSE OF HOLKAR

II.

It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the war that followed. Scindia's armies were beaten at Assaye and Argaum by Arthur Wellesley, and at Laswari near Delhi by Lord Lake, a fiery and impetuous leader but an incompetent general. Within the short space of two months the campaign was concluded and peace agreed upon. Holkar had been a spectator, his interests had not suffered, his importance had increased as that of Scindia declined. There seemed every reason to suppose that he would not change his rôle.

But the course of events showed that the man of mystery had views of his own. He had seen Scindia go down, but he was not daunted. He had refrained from joining his confederacy, but he was bent on forming one of his own creation. He sought allies far and near, among the Rajputs, from the Sikhs, even from the Nizam, and such was his reputation that they all listened to him, and such was his activity that even Scindia began to waver, and ignoring his new treaty obligations looked on without ratifying them. In the first months of the year 1804 Holkar sent his envoys to Lord Lake not to tender humble submission but to make demands. He wanted compensation for his neutrality, he wanted rewards for his future friendship. He wrote to Arthur Wellesley in a strain of confidence to which English officers in India were not accustomed. He wrote among other things, "Although the English possess the utmost skill in field-fighting with the aid of their guns, yet the people of the Deccan in their turn do not believe that they have their equals in plundering and laying waste by day and night." His language to Lord Lake was even more haughty. "Friendship requires that you act according to what my envoys shall represent to you, and your.

doing so will be fruitful of benefit and advantage. If not, my country and property are on the saddle of my horse, and please God to whatever side the reins of the horses of my brave warriors may be turned the whole of the country in that direction shall come into my possession."

Thus, seven years after his hairbreadth escape from the surprise of his brother's camp near Poona, did Jeswunt Rao Holkar throw down the gage of battle to the British power. Neither the Marquis Wellesley nor Lord Lake had taken any just measure of their opponent. To them he was only "a common robber," and the Governor General, in anticipation of an easy and rapid success, decreed that "Jeswunt Rao Holkar was to be assigned a jaghir, under the guarantee of the British Government, that Kashi Rao Holkar was to receive a suitable provision from the territories of the Holkar family, and that the remainder of those territories should be assigned to Dowlut Rao Scindia." This was a striking case of dividing the bear's skin before his death, and the result will show how far the directors of British policy on this occasion were out in their reckoning.

An elaborate plan of campaign had been formed. Lord Lake, in person, was to drive Holkar out of Malwa, and a force under Colonel Monson coming up from the south was to take him in the rear. To support Monson a third corps under Colonel Murray was to advance eastwards from Baroda. As these two latter bodies were without cavalry the deficiency was to be supplied by some Irregular Horse under Lieutenant Lucan and a similar contingent from Scindia's army under Bapooji Scindia.

Lord Lake's force, called the Grand Army, pressed on, and Holkar retired as it advanced. After a few weeks Lake's troops became wearied, and then raids were made on his rear. The most serious of these was when Ameer Khan destroyed a detached force including four officers and captured all its baggage. This "grievous and unexpected calamity," as the Governor General called it, gave rise to reflection. The

dubious proceedings of Scindia's lieutenant increased it. He was to have joined Murray and provided him with cavalry. Instead he desolated the minor states from which Monson was to have drawn his supplies, and Murray for "the salvation of his army" felt compelled not merely to halt but to retire behind the river Myhe for security. In July "the grand army," tired out by the vain pursuit of an elusive enemy, began to retreat for the purpose of recovering its efficiency in cantonments at Agra. Lake sent the Governor General the following comforting message, "I imagine Monson's present force to be equal to anything that can be brought against him," and again this hopeful commander was lamentably out in his calculations.

Lord Lake's retirement left Holkar free to take action. He had collected his forces from far and near, and it was reckoned that he had 40,000 excellent horse under his banner. His artillery was formidable, his guns were drawn by far finer cattle than those of the British. Murray, exhorted by Arthur Wellesley, had again moved forward and occupied Ougein. Holkar shut him up in the place with a portion of his cavalry. Hinglassghur, one of the strongest forts of the Holkars, had been captured by Monson who in turn had to evacuate it. This officer, whose force was supposed to be equal to anything, soon realised that his only chance of escape was by making a prompt retreat, and as his corps was hampered by the non-combatants, more numerous than the fighting men, the result depended on his ability to reach and cross the Chumbul river before his enemy could come up with him.

Monson began his retreat on July 8. Leaving the mounted troops behind with orders that they were to follow in half an hour he marched off, and it was only after he had covered twelve miles that he became solicitous as to what was happening in his rear. Bapooji Scindia, according to one story, rode up at this moment with the news that Holkar's horse had overwhelmed the rearguard and that Lieut. Lucan had been seriously wounded and taken prisoner. The facts seem to have

been that Lucan, instead of retreating at once, made a fruitless charge, while Bapooji openly joined the enemy, with the result that the irregular horse were wiped out and their leader wounded and made prisoner. Lucan died a few days later probably from neglect of his wounds. Thus deprived of his cavalry Monson was left completely at the mercy of his relentless pursuer who could choose the time and place of his attack.

Meantime Monson got through the Mookundra Pass and approached Kotah where he thought of making a stand. He had an interview with the Rajah Zalim Sing who promised to do all he could for him but represented that there was not room in his city for 15,000 persons the number of Monson's force including women and children. He proposed that they should encamp outside the walls and dig a trench round their camp, and with respect to grain while there would not be enough to last for several months he would assign all he had to the camp before providing for his own people. On this Colonel Monson declared that he would continue his march, and although the Rajah again advised him to stay he would not be detained. On July 13 Monson crossed the Chumbul with the aid of the Rajah's boats, which he was careful to retain on the wrong side, thus delaying Holkar's advance. While Holkar was making other arrangements he set himself to coerce Zalim Sing. He compelled him to give up two guns and some tumbrils that Monson had left in his charge, and he exacted a lakh of rupees. Zalim Sing on this occasion added to his reputation as a trimmer, but there was no reason to expect him to become a martyr for the blunders of Monson and Lake. After six days' halt Holkar was again in hot pursuit. He came up with Monson at the Bunas river. Here Monson had to leave a battalion with four guns under Major Sinclair to cover the crossing. He was assailed by Holkar in force his troops coming on in thousands and having an overwhelming superiority in artillery. Sinclair fought to the last, he and twelve of his brother officers being amongst the slain. The victor

captured four guns, two elephants, many camels and a large number of matchlocks with the ammunition tumbrils. Notwithstanding this success Holkar had to call a halt for the arrival of his infantry, but owing to the slowness with which his column moved Monson was never able to get away from him.

On this occasion Monson wrote to Lake a private letter describing his misfortunes from the bottom of his heart. I take from it the following extract—"The troops are now starving, my heart bleeds from every pore for their sufferings. Most wonderful the enemy still leave us quiet. Alas! my sun is set for ever and happiness can never again be known by me."

A few days later Monson had to describe a fresh peril. Although reinforced by two sepoy battalions and a small body of Irregular Horse, the loyalty of the sepoys had become shaken. The reputation of Holkar exercised a certain fascination over them, and report magnified his schemes to form an anti-British league and their chances of success. Three sepoy battalions and the Irregular Horse went over in a body, but a valiant stand by one loyal battalion again arrested the pursuit. It was the last heroic episode of this disastrous retreat. During the following night a panic seized the remainder of the force, the troops became mixed with the train, and the last stage was a veritable *sauve qui peut*, until the fugitives found shelter on the glacis under the guns of the Fort of Agra. An independent witness wrote of that final scene:

"So greatly was the character of the British troops degraded in the native eyes by their behaviour that the very thieves pelted us all night with stones."

Hastily assembling all the available troops Lake again took the field on October 1, 1804, with the avowed intention of annihilating the army of Holkar. That Chief had established his headquarters at Muttra, and Lake marched at full speed to attack him; but Holkar skirmishing the whole way and harassing the rearguard slowly retreated to Katowlie. Here he

seemed disposed to make a stand, but suddenly reverted to his Parthian tactics.

While Lake was wearing down his cavalry in a pursuit which never produced results, Holkar had formed a great resolution. He had lost his own State at least for the time being. To recover his status it was necessary to accomplish something great. Nothing less than the capture of the Imperial City of Delhi, and the person of the Emperor, would satisfy him, and while he left the bulk of his horse to trifle with Lake he hastened off at the head of his foot and guns to endeavour to carry the great city by a *coup de main*. He might have succeeded in his plan if he had not had to deal with a very superior military leader in the person of David Ochterlony. That officer, although he had only 500 troops at his disposal, had made excellent preparations for defending some of the gates, and had placed his guns with much judgment to enable him to command all the approaches from the east. Holkar's batteries opened fire on October 8, and continued the bombardment for six days with only sufficient intermission to allow of two assaults both of which failed. Ochterlony's guns, though few, were served with such skill that they dismounted several of those of the assailants. Meantime Lake, summoned to the rescue, was approaching, and on October 14, the bombardment was discontinued, and the withdrawal of Holkar's guns and troops had been completely effected when Lake arrived on October 17.

Holkar's great *coup* had failed, but at this juncture he found a new friend in the person of the Rajah of Bhurtpore who received the whole of his baggage and bazaars within the strong fortress of Deig. At the same time Holkar's foot and guns took up their position and entrenched themselves outside that place. So far as that corps was involved it was clear that it could do no more running away. It must stand and fight where it stood.

Lake entrusted the command of the force that was to deal with Holkar's brigades to General Fraser, with whom was Colonel

Monson as second in command. Holkar's force was estimated at twenty-four battalions with 160 guns commanded by his principal Sirdar Hirnaut Dada, and the position had been well fortified the guns being placed in successive lines or tiers. Holkar himself was present, but on this occasion he contented himself with watching the struggle from the walls of Deig. The Holkar infantry fought very well, but they were overmatched and their losses amounted to 2,000 killed and drowned, and of their guns they lost eighty-seven pieces including eight that had been taken from Monson. The survivors retired into Deig where the Rajah had a garrison of 3,000 men of his own. Fraser was mortally wounded, and Monson succeeded to the command, but instead of crowning the victory by capturing or trying to capture Deig he withdrew his force and proceeded to join Lake who described his retreat as "extraordinary and unaccountable."

Four days after this battle, and before Monson had rejoined him, Lake himself had accomplished a brilliant feat of arms. Rumours had not been wanting that the horses of Holkar's cavalry were at last "nearly worn out by fatigue," and Lake at the head of all his cavalry, lightly equipped, marched fifty-eight miles in twenty-four hours, and reached the Holkar camp at Ferruckabad at dawn on November 17. This time the surprise was complete, and Holkar himself narrowly escaped capture. It was believed that nearly 3,000 of his horsemen were slain, and the survivors and their Chief deemed themselves fortunate to find a safe shelter in the fort of Deig. When the news of these two encounters reached Nagpore Mount Stuart Elphinstone tells us that the Bhonsla was far more interested in the details of Ferruckabad than of Deig, for he said "the Marathas have since the destruction of their infantry placed greater confidence in their horse, and Holkar is universally allowed to be by far the most skilful leader in this mode of warfare that has ever appeared among them."

According to all the rules of the game this should have

ended the war by compelling Holkar to sue for peace. Six months had passed since hostilities began, certainly no one would have imagined that they were to continue during more than another year, but Holkar was to find salvation in the temerity of Lord Lake. On Christmas day, 1804, Lake occupied the town of Deig, capturing many guns, but during the same night the garrison evacuated the Fort, and succeeded in making its retreat in safety with Holkar and the Raja in company to the still stronger Fort of Bhurtpore, the young Raja's capital. The capture of that place would undoubtedly have sealed Holkar's fate, and Lord Lake, anticipating easy success, gave orders that it should be carried by assault with as little delay as possible. Nobody knew anything about the character of the fortress, and the siege guns were few and in every sense inadequate. Still a breach was declared practicable and in the evening of January 9, 1805, the first attempt to storm the place was made. The result was an unqualified disaster. Insurmountable difficulties presented themselves, a deep ditch of water was discovered, the breach itself was imperfect and the top could not be reached; but nearly five hundred men, including twenty-seven officers, were killed and wounded, the larger half being Europeans. The mischief did not end here. On January 21 a second assault proved an equal failure. On February 20 a third attempt ended in disaster, it was renewed the next day with worse results. The safer mode of negotiation was then resorted to, and the Raja of Bhurtpore, finding his own position imperilled, agreed to abandon his ally.

But all India was moved by the repeated repulses at Bhurtpore, and in the capitals of India it began to be whispered that the decline of the English had begun. A more serious peril lay in the cost of the war. The drain of these protracted hostilities led to an empty Treasury, the easy and complete triumph promised by Wellesley and Lake faded into the distance, and the Court of Directors in London became uneasy and irritable. The star of the Great Marquis was setting, and Cornwallis the

man of peace with, moreover, hard-bound instructions to conclude the war was to be sent out from England to heal the running sore.

They had another and more immediate effect. Scindia, with whom the formal Peace had not yet been ratified made a movement revealing an intention to join Holkar. He defined his purpose as one "of putting an end by amicable interposition and negotiation to the War between the British Government and Jeswant Rao." At that moment too, Ochterlony, expressed the fear that "the failures at Bhurtpore might induce the Sikhs to break into the Dooab." The attitude of Scindia remained dubious throughout the summer of 1805. He moved his camp from place to place on parallel lines with that of Holkar, and he kept the British Resident in strict confinement. But all the time he was halting between two opinions. He wanted some improvement in the terms of his own peace of Serjeet Anjengaum. He wanted compensation for what he had lost, and he was not averse to receive it even at the expense of Holkar if in the end he found it expedient to accommodate himself to the British views.

In brief, he never seriously contemplated the possibility of a renewal of the war. On the other hand Holkar never ceased to advocate implacable war to the bitter end, and when Scindia failed him he turned to Runjeet Sing, the ruler of Lahore.

After his separation from Scindia in October Holkar crossed the Beas into the Punjab, and made his way to Amritsar where he pitched his camp for some weeks. It has been said that as a bribe to the Sikhs he offered to join their Brotherhood, and his proposals were discussed at a Grand Gooroo Mata or National Council; but the decision was not favourable to his aspirations. They refused to aid him, but they were willing to act as mediators for the conclusion of peace, thus conforming more with the views of Scindia. Everybody, including the British Government, was disposed to peace, but what Peace?

On December 22, 1805, Scindia sent in the ratified copy of the Treaty signed two years before. A few days before Lord Lake signed a treaty with Runjeet Sing and other Sikh Chiefs, thus destroying all Holkar's hopes of help from that quarter. It only remained for that Chief to obtain the best terms he could and he entrusted the negotiation to an exceedingly able official Bala Ram Sait. The discussions lasted four days and were momentarily broken off, but on December 24, a treaty of nine articles was signed on the banks of the Beeas. By it Holkar surrendered much territory, including the old family possessions of Tonk Rampoorah, and even at the last moment so bitter was the pill that he deferred ratifying the treaty until January 7, 1806. He had lost much including possessions that affected his pride, but both Lord Lake and Colonel Malcolm were obdurate in dictating terms as the victors. Jeswunt Rao was left the one satisfaction of being recognised as the *de facto* Head and representative of the House of Holkar.

The end was not yet. Other personages appeared on the scene. Lord Cornwallis had succeeded Wellesley. Immediately on his arrival he announced his intention of joining Lord Lake "to endeavour to terminate by negotiation a contest in which the most brilliant success can afford us no solid benefit, and which if it should continue must involve us in pecuniary difficulties which we shall hardly be able to surmount." On his way up the Ganges Cornwallis died, and the control of the government passed into the hands of Sir George Barlow, a great financial expert who was fully alive to the financial difficulties of the hour. When the text of the Treaty reached him he decided to add to it "a declaratory Article" restoring Tonk Rampoorah and "other ancient possessions of the Holkar family" to Jeswunt Rao.

Thus ended in an honourable and considerate peace the long war with Holkar, which had continued during twenty months. Its fortunes had been chequered, and partly through

over confidence and partly through grave military blunders of all kinds, some of the most serious reverses in the record of Anglo-Indian history were incurred. Jeswunt Rao Holkar proved himself to be a brilliant leader as well as a man of courage and resource. He was much more than the rough soldier imagined by Lord Lake. He was an astute statesman who formed large designs and whose views embraced the whole of India. Had his proposals been reciprocated he might have accomplished that confederacy of the powers of India which he conceived at the height of his ambition. But the man who in eight short years raised himself from the leader of a small band of adventurers to be the marshal of a great army, to be the equal of Scindia, and a King-maker among the Peshwas of Poona, and finally to conduct a long and dubious struggle, single-handed, with the whole force of the British Government, had done enough to attain a permanent place in the memory of his fellow countrymen. A halo of glory still surrounds his figure in the minds of the Marathas, and round his name has been woven many a tradition of romance.

Jeswunt Rao Holkar died in 1811, more than five years after the conclusion of peace. They were clouded by his illness and perhaps insanity. His successor was his adopted son Mulhar Rao, a child of four years of age, and the Regency was left in the hands of the three widows of the deceased Chief of whom Toolsa Bahee was the most influential. Her adviser was Bala Ram Sait who had negotiated the treaty. Ameer Khan, the sinister personage who had been personally responsible for many of the cruel acts attributed to his master, controlled the army, and was set on founding a dominion of his own on the ruins of the Holkar family. Things tended to further confusion when Bala Ram Sait was murdered so that his savings might be seized to tide over the troubles of the administration. The armed forces of the State were Mahomedan mercenaries gathered from all quarters, oblivious of every consideration but their pay and the

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chance of plunder to supplement it. How long this state of things might have gone on without interruption need not be conjectured, for external circumstances arose to precipitate a solution.

The Peshwa Bajee Rao had always chafed under the terms of the Treaty of Bassein, and when a still more binding treaty was proposed he found the position intolerable. One can enter into his feelings without concluding that he was wise to show them. He was really powerless, and for the powerless there is no choice between yielding and political extinction. Bajee Rao was not competent to judge the situation aright. He was correct in thinking that the Marathas generally were still true to their allegiance, but he did not realise that their military power in 1817 was nothing like what it had been fourteen years earlier. Still in 1817 he took the final and fatal step of declaring war on the English. The matter only comes into our narrative as it affects the fortunes of the House of Holkar.

At this time the Marquis of Hastings was Governor General. He was a soldier of some distinction and very much of Lord Wellesley's temper. His mission, as he conceived it, was to complete his predecessor's work by shattering the power of the Marathas, and he prepared to achieve this end under cover of ending the Pindarry predatory system. The Pindarries at that moment were the chief fighting force left in Central India and they were in the pay of either Scindia or Holkar. But as a rule pay was not forthcoming so they fought for their own hand, or attached themselves to any leader like Ameer Khan who promised them plunder. Lord Hastings decided to end their career and he called upon the self-ruling States to join hands with him in the task. Some of the minor chiefs complied, and Scindia promised but as usual did nothing. The Bhonsla and Holkar remained so long undecided that their refusal was assumed.

That was the very moment when the Peshwa decided to

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throw off the mask and assert his independence. He sent his emissaries to Gwalior, Indore, and Nagpore, and at Indore they met with the best reception. The troops were unpaid and clamouring for their dues, the Peshwa sent them some money and promised more. The Government of Holkar was averse to join against the Pindarries because they believed it would entail the acceptance of a British Resident, and with his appearance the final disappearance of their independence. Toolsa Baiee herself was in favour of submitting to the English requirements, but since the murder of Bala Ram Sait, by her order too, she had no sound counsellor and stood alone. She could come to no conclusion, if she had she could not have carried it out. The leaders of the mercenaries, all Moslems, were masters of the situation. They had seen the Peshwa's gold and been promised more. They decided for war and to avoid all further discussions they seized the beautiful Toolsa Baiee, led her to the river bank and cut off her head.

On the morrow of that tragedy there was another. The British army was close at hand. It attacked the Holkar forces in a strong position at Mehidpore, and after a desperate battle routed them and drove them in confusion from the field. The child-ruler, Mulhar Rao, witnessed the encounter from the back of an elephant and as soon as the issue became clear he was hurried by his attendants from the field.

At the same time that this defeat was inflicted on the Holkar forces the Peshwa met with complete disaster at Poona and was compelled to seek safety in flight. The game was up and only submission remained. The military party being discredited the Civil Ministers came forward to do what they could to preserve the Holkar dynasty. Bala Ram Sait was no longer available, but an able and high-minded successor was found in the person of Tantia Jogh. The struggle that this honest servant of the State carried on single-handed under every disadvantage with Sir John Malcolm to get better terms for his young master was heroic, and although

Malcolm at first showed at every turn a disposition to employ the argument of Brennus, and rather anticipated the language of Bismarck at Versailles, he too at the end was touched by the loyalty and zeal of this faithful servant, and we find in the Protocols the admission wrung from him,—“I considered that the possessions left to Mulhar Rao Holkar were already so reduced that there was hardly an object for his family and Ministers to maintain the Treaty.”

The Treaty of Mandisore concluded on January 6, 1818, would have been hard if imposed on a ruler directly responsible for the actions of his Government, but it was harsh in the extreme in the case of a child-ruler who was in no way responsible for the acts of a lawless and foreign soldiery who had temporarily seized the reins of power. The sense of injury has gone on smouldering for a hundred years, and in that long interval no steps have been taken to soften the blow or repair the wrong.

Mulhar Rao Holkar reigned until the year 1834, and he improved the condition of his people and increased the revenue.

He was the first of his family to turn the sword into the ploughshare, but he was very conscious of the fact that his territories were not sufficient to sustain the traditions and lustre of his family. On that account he strove hard to obtain from successive Governor Generals the restitution of some of his old lands. With his successors this tradition has remained in undiminished force, but it does not seem to have borne any fruit.

I have dealt with the Rajahs. In conclusion I would say a few words about the Residents at their Court. They included several men of exceptional ability and sympathy. The first, Vans Agnew, remained too short a time to leave a permanent mark on the situation, but his delicacy in dealing with the distressed ruling family, and the tact with which he parried Sir John Malcolm's brusque measures are discernible in all his dispatches. Moreover, Vans Agnew stood too high in the

Governor General's estimation for even Malcolm to attempt to treat him otherwise than as an equal. Then came Gerald Wellesley, son of the Marquis, whose breadth of view was not less remarkable than his consideration for those who had fallen on evil days. We find him doing his best to secure better treatment of the Holkar family in the numerous incidents that arose during the process of what Sir John Malcolm euphemistically called "the pacification of Malwa." But Wellesley had not the same status as Vans Agnew, and at length we find him congratulating himself that "Sir John had taken these matters out of his hands and was going to settle them himself." So much the worse for the House of Holkar, and yet the text of the Treaty reads very precise and clear.

More than ten years after Wellesley finished his long stay at Indore came Sir Robert Hamilton, the friend of the Holkar family and its adviser in many a thorny matter. It was he who held the child Tukoji II in his arms when he was placed on the *gadi*, it was he who selected Omeid Sing, the best Indian official in the British service, to be the young prince's tutor and guide, and he bore with stoical calm the censure of the supreme Government when it conceived that he was thinking more of Holkar's sentiments and rights than of their policy. In a most unfortunate moment for his friends, he went to England on leave in the spring of the year 1857. Not long after his departure the Mutiny broke out, and the contingents paid for by the Chief States of Central India cast off their allegiance and joined in what was a military rebellion. The Indore and Gwalior contingents took the lead in a movement which was hostile to their own princes as well as to the British Government.

It was particularly unfortunate for the Maharaja Holkar that this should have occurred during Sir Robert Hamilton's absence for his *locum tenens* Colonel Durand was prejudiced against the Indore Durbar, and so completely lost his head on the outbreak that he fled to Bhopal instead of retiring to the Mhow camp which was far nearer. He had also neglected

every precaution for the defence of the Residency although the Maharaja had exhorted him to make preparations for the worst. To cover up his own shortcomings Colonel Durand accused Holkar of treachery, and for a season the charge met with too ready credence. Subsequent events refuted it, but Durand exerted all his influence with the Foreign Department, to which he was attached after leaving Central India, to obtain acceptance for his views, and when the distribution of rewards to loyal and helpful Indian rulers came round Lord Canning was so misled that he passed over Holkar. Yet no prince in Central India had acted more promptly and more energetically within the limits of his means than he had. Before the close of his career Lord Canning had been brought round to the view that he had been unjust, and Sir Richmond Shakespear, Sir Robert Hamilton's successor, would have found means to put the intention to make reparation in practice if his career had not been cut short by his sudden death immediately after the Jubbulpore Durbar in 1861 at which Lord Canning met the Maharaja Holkar. The full story of this interesting episode in the History of Indore will be told when I have arranged the unpublished papers that contain the whole truth.

The Maharaja Tukoji Holkar II whose reign began in 1844 lived till the year 1886, having taken over the responsible government of his State in 1852. He was a very capable ruler and devoted his chief attention to the development of the resources of his country, and the prosperity of his subjects. He not only promoted agriculture of all kinds, but he introduced new branches of industry which increased employment. Indore was in old days a great emporium of trade, and under his influence it resumed all and acquired more than all of its old importance in that respect. He left a full treasury and an increasing revenue to his son and successor Sivaji. The reign of the latter lasted from 1886 to 1903, when he abdicated in favour of his son Tukoji Rao III, then a boy of 13. This prince having received his education in the College of Indian Princes, and

done the grand tour was invested with full powers in 1911. The chief events of his reign, so far, have related to the Great War in which his troops took a highly honourable part; but it must not be overlooked that apart from the combative side of the struggle he equipped a hospital service of the highest efficiency. Latterly, he has devoted much of his attention to the development of the great natural resources of his State by the introduction of modern appliances and perhaps the day is not far distant when Indore Investments will figure in the Price lists of the World's markets.

The last hundred years have, therefore, seen a complete change in the policy and character of the Holkar rulers. Before that epoch they were leaders of adventurous bands of horsemen, and they produced an outstanding military genius in the person of Jeswant Rao Holkar. Those were the days when the ruler's home was in the saddle, and his spear rarely left his right hand. All that has changed. The ideal is no longer that of Jeswant Rao, but of Ahaliya Baicee, administering justice and maintaining peace in the midst of strife and discord. The search for wealth, the maintenance of fiscal security, the accumulation of resources, these are the passions of the hour, and in their attainment may be found, not however without toil and perseverance, a more perfect solace and a more ample reward than ever befell the shifting fortunes, the vicissitudes of victory and defeat, of those earlier Maharajahs who believed too long that their power and importance depended on the success with which they plundered their neighbours.

(Concluded)

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER

CONCEPTION OF SOVEREIGNTY IN A MEDIAEVAL RAJPUT STATE

Enquiries into the conception of sovereign rights do not possess merely an academical interest. They help us not only to understand the political ideas of the people of a certain period in history but throw an excellent light upon the political privileges and liberties enjoyed by the same as well. While, therefore, such investigations are helpful and a comparative study of Indian and western theories of kingship highly desirable, care should be taken lest apparent analogies between them are carried too far. It must be acknowledged that our ideas developed among circumstances that left their impression upon the theories as well and thus apparent analogies often stand in the way of having a true perspective of the situation. Nevertheless the points where Indian and western ideas approach each other are an interesting study and deserve careful consideration.

Without entering into intricacies it can be said that ancient Hindu writers maintained primarily two distinct theories about the rights of sovereigns. In the *Manusamhita* we find the king being described as "formed of particles of gods" and "a great deity in human form,"¹ thus implying divine authority in monarchs. According to another text one who assails even a wicked king is "more criminal than one who has committed a hundred times the crime of killing a Brahman."² Herein we find inculcated a view very similar to the doctrine of passive obedience of subjects insisted upon by the upholders of the theory of divine right of kings in Europe. Another theory as equally important as the above was maintained by a different class of thinkers whose authority is as great as that of the former. In the *Mahabharata*, for example, we are told that

¹ *Manusamhita* in S. B. E., Vol. XXV, p. 216.

² *Narada-Smriti* in S. B. E., Vol. XXXIII, p. 212.

"men on earth who desire prosperity should first elect and crown a king for the protection of all"¹ indicating distinctly the popular origin of kingship. The Sukranitisara goes further and says that "the king was appointed by Brahma to the service of the people—the revenue that he takes being the emoluments of his office."² The same authority adds, "If a king be without virtue, immoral, weak and irreligious, he should be deposed."³

It seems therefore that these two schools of thinkers held two different theories regarding sovereignty—the one attributing to it divine origin and enjoining upon the subjects passive obedience to their ruler, while the other emphasising upon the popular origin of kingship and the right of the subjects to be ruled by a king of their own choice. Apart from theories if we turn to practice we find that little authentic information on this head is available in the early historical period of India. Cases of deposition are not rare but it is difficult to say whether or not, the deposed prince loses his crown and the successor takes possession of the same due to any part played by the people themselves. We are not therefore in a position to state definitely how far the above theories of kingship affected the practice in early Indian history.

When however we turn to the history of the mediaeval Rajput states what strikes us, at the very outset, is the wholly practical outlook which the Rajput comes to bear upon the question of the sovereign's rights. The relation between theory and practice is completely changed from what it was before. There was hardly any speculation on kingship among the Rajputs but like practical men they boldly asserted their power when necessities required us against their princes. These latter exercised their rule with due deference to the important individuals or sardars in the state who, whenever necessary, did

¹ The Mahabharata, translated by P. C. Roy, Santi Parva, Section LXVII, verse 33.

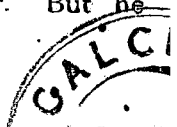
² Sukranitisara, Calcutta edition, Chapter I, verse 188.

³ *Ibid.*, Chapter II, verse 274.

not fail to resort to their right of deposing a ruler, however strong his legitimate hereditary claims might have been, and electing some such person as in their belief would be able to rule them to their own satisfaction which was the same thing as the welfare of the state. It may be noted in this connection that the Rajputs occupied in the Hindu society of Mediaeval India the same position as the Kshatriyas did in older times, and, traditionally they were looked upon as the lineal descendants of these latter.

The following cases in illustration of the relation between the Rajputs and their princes are taken from the history of the state of Mewar in the last half of the fifteenth and the first decade of the sixteenth century. This Rajput state had reached by that time a unique position among the northern Indian principalities. The Mahomedan empire which under Allaiddin Khilji had held an uncontested sway over northern India and a large portion of southern India as well, had been losing its power since the time of Muhammad Toghluks and had given rise to a number of independent dynasties in the provinces like Guzrat, Malwa and Bengal. The first two Mahomedan states sometimes singly and sometimes conjointly fought against Rana Kumbha of Mewar (1432-1469) but had to acknowledge defeat. These successes raised the importance of the state of Mewar to a position higher than even before and paved the way about sixty years later to the contest of Rana Sangrama with Babur for the supreme authority in northern India. The political revolutions of this state are not therefore of a parochial interest only.

Towards the close of his reign, Rana Kumbha lost his senses and his eldest son became impatient of exercising sovereign rights in the state. One day, says a Rajasthani chronicle, as the insane Rana was seated by the side of a reservoir in the fort of Kumbhalmer which he had himself constructed, his eldest son and heir-apparent Uda or Udaya killed him with a dagger and proclaimed himself ruler. But he



was not long allowed to enjoy the throne which was thus acquired by the assassination of his father.

The incidents which led to his deposition in which the sardars of the state played the most conspicuous part are detailed in the Rajasthani chronicle above referred to. This is known in Rajputana as the Khyata or Chronicle of Muta Nensi who was for some time minister of Maharajah Yashovant Simhaji of Jodhpur, the contemporary of the Moghul Emperors Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb. Internal evidence shows that the compilation of the Khyata began certainly as early as 1645 A.D., if not earlier. Thus it was written about 175 years later than the time with which we are dealing. This however need not detract from the correctness of the incidents described, for, as we shall find later we have also contemporary evidence in support of the main outline of the story given by Muta Nensi.

According to this chronicle, on Kumbha's assassination, the sardars of the state were highly dissatisfied with Udaya and maintained themselves at a respectful distance planning means to drive away the assassin. None of them appeared at the durbar where they sent their younger brothers or sons to keep up appearances. It seems that the unpopularity of the new ruler was so great within the state that Udaya sought to win over the support of the neighbouring princes by systematic bribes. Thus, according to Tod, to Jodhaji, the founder of the Rathor city of Jodhpur, he handed over Ajmer, Sambhar and the neighbouring tracts. The Devra prince of Sirohi, so long a vassal of Mewar, was declared independent.¹ But these events certainly made him much more unpopular with the subjects. The chief sardars, the chronicle continues, now opened communication with Raymalla, Udaya's younger brother, who was then staying at Idar, and secretly brought him to Mewar so that he might be set up on the throne in place of Udaya. All preparations being ready, they managed through

¹ Tod's Rajasthan, edited by W. Crooke, Vol. I, p. 329.

their brothers and sons residing at the court of Udaya to get him away from Chitor for a few days on the pretext of a hunt. When the parricide was thus away the Sardars took Raymalla along with them to the citadel and seated him on his father's throne. The new installation was proclaimed by beat of drums. The sardars now recalled their brothers and sons while to Udaya they sent the message "Thou black-faced scoundrel, begone. If thou stayest any longer, Raymalla will put thee to death."

About fifteen years after the incident and in the reign of this very prince, Raymalla, an inscription was set up in the temple of Ekalingaji near Udaipur to record the grants made by the rulers of Chitor for the maintenance of the temple. Incidentally it contains notices regarding the way by which Raymalla ascended the throne corroborating in its outline the story given from the Chronicle as above. It should be noted that the inscription was composed by the court-poet while Raymalla was still alive and as is to be expected in such cases no clear indication of the part played by the sardars is given, while, all the glory is appropriated by the ruling sovereign. The inscription admits that Raymalla is at first in Yoginipur or Idar, then ascends the hill of Chitor with his horses "removing the darkness caused by the wicked," is pleased to find that the sinful one has no possibility of maintaining himself in the country, "inflicts a defeat upon the foolish Udaya with his allies" and at last "takes possession of Kumbhalmer with his supporters."¹

¹ The translation of the inscription as given in the Bhavnagar publication is incorrect at several places. The transcription seems to be good. In the translation the name of Raymalla's enemy is given as 'Madhodara' although in the transcript it is 'Mudhodayahvam' which after the *anvaya* is expounded means 'the fool named Udaya.' Again, it is important to note that Raymalla's partisans are indicated by the term "abhimataih" which would literally signify "with those whose views were in his favour." Although, sense of dignity stood in the way of the Rana's explaining his indebtedness to the sardars for his throne, the use of the word "Abhimataih" (as compared with "Sapaksha" applied to Udaya's followers) suggests the same.

On an examination of these accounts it appears that the cause of disaffection among the Sardars was primarily sentimental. The perfidy of Udaya is what made him hateful. It must also be mentioned that according to Tod another cause seems to have been added, namely, the disgraceful—not to say unwise—policy which he pursued in buying off the neighbouring princes at the sacrifice of territories and other sovereign rights.

The above incident is not however an isolated event in the political history of the state. About forty years later the Sardars had again to exercise the power of selection and depose the rightful heir in preference to a younger member of the ruling family. Rana Raymalla had a number of sons the first four being Prithiraj, Jaimalla, Jesso or Jaisimha and Sanga. Prithiraj was the heir-apparent and his installation as such took place, but he died while his father was still alive. The second son Jaimalla now stepped into his elder brother's position and a ceremony was performed but like his elder brother he too lost his life in a broil with a Rajput chieftain. The third son Jesso, after Jaimalla's death, was now accepted by the Rana Raymalla as the heir to the throne, and, as on previous occasions a ceremony was gone through. Immediately after, the old Rana fell ill. What followed may best be described in the words of the Chronicler, Muta Nensi,—“But Jesso was incompetent; the Rajputs would not accept him as their future ruler. They sent for Sanga (the fourth son) and brought him there. Shortly after Rana Raymalla's condition grew very serious and he expired. Sanga's coronation took place.”

In this instance we have a clear case of the Sardars interfering in the question of succession. Putting aside all consideration of the strictly legitimate claims of the prince who had even gone through a ceremony of coronation, they took up the cause of the next in succession and were able to get the crown for their own candidate. It is important to note that the ground of putting Jesso's rights away was held out to be his incompetence.

What turn the events would have taken if the aged Rana had survived the illness and taken up the cause of the prince whom he had been instrumental in getting crowned is impossible to state. In any case the fact that the subjects ventured to dispute the succession and were successful in carrying out their point against legitimacy on two occasions within a short space of forty years certainly testifies to the existence of great powers in these Sardars. It is thus clear that the Rajput princes had no inalienable divine right to rule over their people who not only had the power to depose incompetent kings but often exercised the same. The element of popularity was thus the most decisive factor in the mediaeval Rajput kingship.

In this connection it is interesting to note that there was a very great possibility of the Rajput rulers being regarded as divine agents and thus of the assertion of the theory of the divine right on the part of their kings. Traditions of the various Rajput clans trace their origin to the Sun, the Moon and in some cases the Fire-god. Although in many cases these ideas came to be formulated about the twelfth century A. D. it cannot be said that in all cases these traditions developed in comparatively recent times. In Mewar, for example, the founder Bappa Rawal receives his kingdom from Ekalinga or Siva through the intercession of the sage Haritarashi. The Mewar prince was and is still known by his title of "Ekalinga ka Diwan." Col. Tod who possessed almost an unsurpassable knowledge about the Rajput life says, "The Ranas of Mewar, as the Diwans, or Vicegerents of Siva, when they visit the temple supersede the high priest in his duties." ¹ This association of the Ranas with Ekalinga is not however of a recent growth nor is it to be regarded as merely the fabrication of some designing minds. This idea was certainly well-established as early as the 971 A. D. for an inscription of that date maintains a connection between the Mewar dynasty and the Ekalingaji

¹ Tod's Rajasthan edited by W. Crooke, Vol. II, p. 602.

temple.¹ Theoretically, therefore, in the Rajput states—and certainly in Mewar there was a great danger of divine sanction being lent to the institution of kingship. But in practice we find that even where this contingency was the strongest as in Mewar the popular control over the ruler was always effective and took no account of the divinity in the kings. It seems that this was possible owing to two main reasons—the almost entirely social basis of the Rajput State-system and the practical necessities with which these states were confronted.

SUBIMALCHANDRA DUTT

ON TOLLYGUNGE ROAD

How strange: I passed that grave a thousand times,
When only to-day, thinking on my utter loneliness,
I suddenly saw it, resting beneath the peepul-tree.
Was it because that ancient grave was lonely too
That it entered my consciousness?

LILY S. ANDERSON

¹ Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXII, pp. 151 ff.

• THE SIKH MASANDS

Mainly as a reaction against the aggressive propaganda of the Arya Samaj a movement had started among the Sikhs to raise Sikhism once again to the high ideals of its founders. Sirdar Kahn Singh's very interesting book, *Ham Hindu Nahin*, first published in 1898, is characteristic of the earlier activities of the movement but several years passed before the question of reform could be taken up seriously and it was only recently that the important question of the Sikh Gurdwaras assumed the most prominent place in the reforming activities of the Sikhs. Briefly stated the question is this—in course of time 'the Sikh temples, which had been organised as the main sources of Sikh teaching, fell into the hands of non-Sikhs and became the means of spreading un-Sikh principles.' The Sikhs determined to put an end to this absurd state of things and started the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee in order to regain the control of their temples and shrines. Since then events have crowded upon one another in surprising rapidity. The Nankana tragedy, the failure of the Sikh Gurdwaras and Shrines Act, the Guru-ka-bagh affair, the proclaiming of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, the trial of the Sikh leaders for alleged conspiracy, the Jaito incidents and lastly the formation of a rival organisation by some moderate Sikhs, followed one another in quick succession and nobody can say what fate awaits the new Gurdwara Bill.

The present Gurdwara controversy, however, raises a very interesting historical question, *viz.*, how was it that in course of time almost all the Sikh temples fell into the hands of non-Sikhs? It has been said that this happened during the period of struggle that followed the collapse of Banda when the Sikhs were compelled to live fugitives from their homes. The history of the Sikhs from the death of Guru Govind Singh in 1708 to 1767, the year of the final retirement of Ahmad

Shah Abdali, is the history of the 'Sikh War of liberation.' This is not the place to recount the details of that thrilling story. Repeatedly repulsed, prices laid upon their heads, their holy places desecrated and their temples destroyed, massacred in thousands and driven to the desert wilds, wantonly persecuted by the Mughals on the one hand and pillaged by the Durrani on the other, the Sikhs yet succeeded in erecting a sovereignty of their own, which, as Dr. Narang says, 'gave a magnificent sunset to the stormy day of Hindu glory.' This march to sovereignty was thus attended with circumstances which completed the dissociation of the Sikhs from the management of their temples. During the earlier period when the Sikhs were driven out of their homes most of these temples were deliberately destroyed and those that survived possibly owed their safety to the fact that they had passed to the control of persons who could satisfy the Muhammadan authorities that they did not belong to the Khalsa. We possess no details about the fortunes of the Sikh shrines during this period but a few words about the *Har Mandar*, or the central Sikh temple at Amritsar, may perhaps serve to give an idea of what was going on at the time. Under the *Misls* the *Akalees* constituted themselves as the armed guardians of the temple of Amritsar and here it was that the *Sharbat Khalsa* or the general assembly of the Sikhs met to discuss matters of common interest, mainly war and defence. But before finally passing to the control of the *Akalees* the temple had had a chequered history. During the ascendancy of Banda the temple had fallen into the hands of his followers and after Banda's execution a quarrel ensued between the *Khalsa* and the *Bandais*. The matter was at last decided by lot and the *Khalsa* regained the control of the temple. The bitter persecution of the authorities soon drove the Sikhs out of their homes and when circumstances favoured their return they built the fort of *Ram Rowni* in Amritsar, which henceforward became the centre of Sikh activities. During the years that followed the fort was destroyed and rebuilt several times.

and it appears that the central Sikh temple, that was lying close by, also shared the same fate. In 1757 Timur, the son of Ahmad Shah Abdali, razed the fort of *Ram Rowni* to the ground and at the same time, "the sacred buildings were demolished and the tank of nectar (*Amritsar*) was filled up with their ruins." The next year the Afghans were decisively defeated and the Sikhs found themselves masters of the situation. The temples were rebuilt, the Sikhs employing Muhammadans at the point of the bayonet to clear the tank and help in the reconstruction of the sacred buildings. The Sikhs, however, were destined to suffer yet another reverse. In 1762 Ahmad Shah Abdali inflicted a crushing defeat upon them near Ludhiana. The conqueror then visited Amritsar and 'gratified his own resentment and indulged the savage bigotry of his followers by destroying the renewed temples of Amritsar, by polluting the pools with slaughtered cows, by encasing numerous pyramids with the heads of decapitated Sikhs, and by cleansing the walls of desecrated mosques with the blood of his infidel enemies.' Such was the spirit of the times and such were the tribulations of a nation in the making.

But from 1767 onwards the Sikhs were masters of the situation and a new question therefore arises. The temples that had fallen into the hands of non-Sikhs might easily have been rescued and placed under the charge of genuine Sikhs. Moreover, the temples that survived were few; most of the *Gurdwaras* were built during the period of Sikh independence and there is apparently no reason why we should find them as well in the hands of non-Sikhs. The answer is simple. Political advancement and military glory had wrought a change in the outlook of the community. The pure simple life of the immediate followers of Guru Govind Singh gradually became a thing of the past and the Sikhs drifted away so far from their ideals that they could discern nothing wrong in the arrangement and perpetuated it of their own free accord.

It is not necessary for our present purpose to develop

the argument in detail. Suffice it to say, that the reforms of Guru Govind Singh and the struggles that followed his death turned the Sikhs into soldiers almost to a man. With the rise of the *Misls* the Sikhs began to fight for dominion and power for themselves. All their prominent men had worked themselves up from the bottom of the ladder and as yet no ruling aristocracy stood as a hopeless barrier against the ambitions of humbler but abler men. The sword offered to them the royal road to success in life and consequently, for the time being, all other professions were at a discount. We need not be surprised, therefore, that the question of temple reform was not even thought of by the emancipated Sikhs. The *Udasis* were there, ready at hand and it seems that the Sikhs were only too glad to leave to them the dull and unpromising duties of temple management. The Sikhs went even further and we know of several instances in which *Udasis* were actually placed in charge of newly erected temples. On the other hand, the Sikhs gradually lost the pure religion of their founders and reverted to many of those practices of popular Hinduism which the Gurus had sought to discard. A process of silent assimilation commenced and the difference between a Sikh and an ordinary Hindu insensibly broke down. This is nowhere shown more clearly than in the frequent inter-marriages between Sikhs and non-Sikhs provided only that the caste considerations were favourable. This naturally brought in the question of marriage rites and here too the Sikhs had to yield to Brahminical customs, so much so that doubts were afterwards raised as to the validity of Sikh marriage by *Anand* and the *Anand Marriage Bill* had to be passed into law in 1909. It now becomes easier to understand why the *mahants* and the *Udasis* had so long been tolerated in the control of the Sikh temples and shrines, but once the Sikhs began to regain their self-consciousness the absurdity of the arrangement became all too clear and the reform of the *Gurdwaras* became the most absorbing concern of the Sikh community.

A closer study, however, reveals the fact that the root of the matter goes far deeper, indeed to the very beginnings of Sikh history. The difficulties actually commenced long before the Sikh struggles for independence and the Gurdwara question can never be understood in its proper perspective without a study of the beginnings of the Sikh *Gurdwaras* and shrines, and particularly the history of the Sikh *Masands*.

From very early days two of the most characteristic features of Sikhism had been the *Langar* and the *Sangat*. The *Langar* was the free dining hall that the Gurus maintained out of the offerings of their followers, and the *Sangat* was the Sikh congregation that daily met around the Guru, mostly for religious purposes and sometimes to discuss matters of common interest. So long as Sikhism was in its infancy and the Sikhs were few in number the Guru could offer instruction to his followers in person and the single *Sangat* sufficed. But Sikhism gradually grew in popularity, its votaries daily increased and soon a situation arose when it became necessary to provide the Sikhs with convenient local centres. The third Guru Amar Das, therefore, introduced what has been called the *Manji*-system. The 'Sikh spiritual empire' was divided into twenty-two dioceses or *manjis* and a pious and devoted Sikh was placed at the head of each. *Manji* literally means 'couches on which the Gurus used to sit and communicate instruction to their followers' and besides the fact that the *manjis* of Amar Das were so many centres of religious instruction for those Sikhs whom circumstances did not permit to visit the larger and more important gathering that continually met around the Guru, we do not know anything more about them. The names of these *manjis* have not been discovered and therefore we cannot say whether any of them has had any connection with some of the later Sikh shrines with which we are more positively acquainted. But it can easily be surmised that these *manjis* were the earliest Sikh *Sangats*, and, in all probability, in each and every one of them a *Langar* was set

up, for in later days we invariably find that the *Sangats* were not merely places of worship but also wayside refectories which gave food and shelter to indigent wayfarers. Properly speaking, the *Langar* and the *Sangat* were not two distinct institutions but rather the two component parts of one single institution which generally went by the name of the *Sangat*.

The next important stage of development is indicated in the reforms of Arjan, the fifth Guru. Guru Nanak had asked his followers 'to give a tithe of their substance to God' and presentation of offerings to the Guru came to be regarded, from the very beginning of Sikh history, as one of the most pious acts for the faithful. But Nanak had, at the same time, characterised offerings as 'poison which could not be digested' and had enjoined upon his followers the necessity of 'eating the fruit of one's own labour.' So truly had his successor Angad, the second Guru, imbibed the spirit of his Master's teaching that he is said to have earned his living 'by twisting the coarse twine made of *munj*, though there was no dearth of offerings from the faithful. Guru Amar Das also followed the same principle and the offerings were wholly utilised for the maintenance of the *Langar*. But a change seems to have been made during the days of Ram Das who is said to have sent agents throughout the country for the purpose of collecting contributions from his followers for the excavation of the tank of *Ramsar*, which later on came to be known as Amritsar and gave its name to the city that grew up around it. But as yet the contributions were absolutely voluntary and there is not an iota of evidence to show that any force or even persuasion was ever employed. With the accession of Guru Arjan, however, an innovation was made, revolutionary in itself and far-reaching in its consequences. The voluntary contributions of the faithful were converted into compulsory taxation and agents were appointed to collect the same. These agents were called *Masands*. It is generally agreed that the word *Masand* comes out of the appellation, *mas-nad-i-ala* or *ali*. "In the time of the Afghan Kings nobles were styled

masnad-i-ali. Hence the word 'masnad' was employed as an ordinary appellation of courtiers. From its frequent use it was changed in the mouths of Sikhs into *masand*. The Gurū was called *Saccha Padshah* or the true king, so his agents were styled "*Masands*." This seems to be faintly indicative of the political transformation that Sikhism was slowly and unconsciously undergoing about this time but that is a question with which we have no concern here. As some writers suggest, the *Masands* seem to have been in the first instance appointed to the twenty-two *manjis* of Amar Das, which thus became the twenty-two fiscal units of Guru Arjan. But as the Sikhs rapidly grew in numbers and lay scattered throughout the Punjab and even beyond, new centres were created. The *Masands*, on their part, appointed deputies called *Meorās* (a term borrowed from Akbar's system) and a contemporary Muhammadan writer says that such substitutes could be found in every place. Thus a regular fiscal administration rapidly grew up and, from Kabul on the west to Sylhet on the east, wherever there was a Sikh, there could be found a *Masand* as well.

- The *Masands*, however, were not merely the collectors of tithes for the Guru. That they possessed episcopal functions
- as well is proved by the fact that they are often referred to as '*Sangatis*,' which must mean "heads of *Sangats*." Moreover, it is to be noticed that Mohsun Fani, a contemporary Muhammadan writer, describes the *Masands*, as well as their deputies, generally as '*Gurus*.' The double function of the *Masand*, fiscal as well episcopal, is thus clear and it seems that with the introduction of Arjan's reforms 'the *manji*-system underwent a change and the bishops did not remain purely spiritual guides but became collectors of tithes as well.' Thus by the time of Guru Arjan we find a network of Sikh *Sangats* spread all over the province, presided over by *Masands* whose duty it was to look after the religious instruction of the local Sikhs, collect the Guru's tithes and send them to Amritsar.

Simultaneously with the development of these *Sangats*

grew up the earlier of those shrines which are at present known as the *Gurdwaras*. A *Gurdwara* means a temple built on a place which had been visited by a Guru and by the time of Guru Arjan several of these had already come into existence. The Dharmshala of Guru Nanak at Kartarpur, the Baoli (well) of Guru Amar Das at Goindwal, the Har Mandir or the now famous Golden Temple of Amritsar, and the tank of Tarn Taran excavated by Guru Arjan himself were growing up into important centres of Sikh pilgrimage. The Guru resided at Amritsar and could personally look to the affairs of the Har Mandir but it seems that even at that early stage the control of the Dharmshala of Kartarpur had passed into the hands of the *Udasis*. These *Udasis* were the followers of Sri Chand, the eldest son of Guru Nanak. Sri Chand sought to give an otherworldly interpretation to the teachings of Nanak and laid great stress on celibacy and asceticism. Though Guru Nanak clearly indicated which way his sympathies lay by debarring Sri Chand from the succession and conferring the Guruship upon his disciple Angad, followers of Sri Chand still grew in numbers and it was uncertain who would finally win. Amar Das is said to have saved the situation later on by declaring that the passive and recluse *Udasis* were wholly separate from the active and domestic Sikhs. But it has to be remembered that the *Udasis* were never excommunicated. They also possessed the same credentials as the Sikhs themselves. "Besides celibacy and asceticism the other tenets of the sect were the same as those of Sikhism and it regarded Nanak with the same veneration as the Sikhs did." There is evidence to show that the *Udasis* lived on the friendliest of terms with the Sikhs, and so when Guru Angad removed his residence to Khadur and the Dharmshala of Guru Nanak at Kartarpur passed to the control of the *Udasis*, no trouble seems to have been raised. Even in later days when the difference between the *Udasis* and the Sikhs became more pronounced, these friendly terms continued. Nay, it is even probable that the *Udasis* were sometimes placed

at the head of Sikh *Sangats*. We are told that the sixth Guru Hargovind sent an *Udasi* named Almast to found a *Sangat* at Sujatpur near Dacca. This Almast was perhaps the very same man who complained to Hargovind that he had been driven out from his shrine at Nanakmata, in the Tarai near Naini Tal, by the *Jogis* who had also burnt the *pipal* tree under which Guru Nanak had held debate with the followers of Gorakh Nath, and whom Hargovind immediately restored to his shrine. In the field of Bhangani where Guru Govind Singh won his first battle against the Hill Rajas five hundred *Udasis* went to fight the Guru's cause and though all fled before the action commenced, their *mahant* remained, fought with great bravery and is said to have killed a Pathian commander, who had deserted the Guru just on the eve of the battle, with his own hands. This last story may be a little exaggerated but still it seems clear that the *Udasis* and the Sikhs regarded themselves as two branches of the same tree and lived in friendly co-operation.

But to return to the Gurdwaras. Besides the Dharmasala at Kartarpur, the *Baoli* or the well with 84 steps, built by Guru Amar Das at Goindwal, has already been mentioned. It is a general belief among the Sikhs that whoever bathes on these steps, one by one, on the same day, repeating the *Japji* with sincerity to the last step shall be saved from the 84 lacs of transmigratory forms and go direct to heaven. The *Baoli* soon became the most important place of Sikh pilgrimage but it is doubtful whether the fourth Guru Ram Das exercised any control over its affairs. During the earlier days of Sikhism, when the Guruship was not yet hereditary, we notice a very significant fact. Every one of the first three successors of Nanak, or rather those who had been nominated Gurus before the hereditary principle was established, left the place of his predecessor and sought out a new one for himself. Angad left Kartarpur and removed to Khadur, Amar Das left Khadur and founded the village of Goindwal; Ram Das, in his turn,

left Goindwal, laid the nucleus of the city of Amritsar and made it the centre of Sikh activities. These facts can only be explained on the supposition that each of these Gurus found the place of his predecessor extremely uncomfortable owing to the undisguised hostility of the latter's descendants. The Sikh records tell us that after the death of Angad his son Datu usurped the Guru's *gaddi* at Khadur and refused to recognise Amar Das, whom he derisively called the servant of his family. Even when Amar Das returned to Goindwal Datu did not leave him alone. He visited Goindwal and, on one occasion, is said to have kicked Amar Das off his *gaddi*. Similarly, Amar Das's son Mohan always remained hostile to Ram Das. Though Mohri, the elder brother, recognised Ram Das as the legitimate Guru the hostility of Mohan alone seems to have been sufficient to induce him to leave Goindwal and it is very probable that Ram Das thereby left to Mohan the control of the *Baoli* as well.

But in spite of these minor difficulties the Guru still controlled the entire organisation of the *Sangats* through his *Masands* and his power daily increased. Guru Arjan changed his mode of living and his *darbar* displayed so much splendour and magnificence that even the agent of the Dewan of Lahore was astonished at 'the regal state and retinue' of the Guru. Soon, however, a new series of events commenced that brought about the growing disorganisation of the *Masand* system and ultimately led to its entire abolition. The proper working of the *Masand* system demanded a strong, unchallenged central authority and a set of honest, conscientious local workers. 'The *masands* were at first chosen for their piety, integrity and high position, and were probably honorary officers.' Till the time of Hargovind the Guru also was sufficiently strong to make himself felt and the system worked well. The office of the *masand*, however, soon became hereditary in the families of the first incumbents and gradually fell into unworthy hands; on the other hand, a variety of circumstances led to a positive

weakening of the Guru's position. The net result was that the system broke down.

It is a universal experience that as religions grow up schools of dissent also crop up together with them. These latter, in almost all cases, owe their origin to one or both of two causes, doctrinal and personal. As we have seen, the first serious difficulty within Sikhism came when the *Udasis* under Sri Chand gradually became influential and sought to give an other-worldly character to the teachings of Nanak. The whole question of the future development of the Sikhs depended on a proper solution of the contest and fortunately or unfortunately the Sikhs were finally separated from the recluse *Udasis* and a worldly turn was given to their ambition. This was the only occasion when a dissenting sect arose from within Sikhism on a question of principle.

The more important of the other schismatic sects, *viz.*, the *Minas*, the *Ram Rayees* and the *Dhirmallias* owe their origin to contests for the Guruship. The Sikh legends say that when Guru Amar Das promised to his daughter, Bibi Bhani, that the Guruship would remain hereditary in her line he warned his daughter that "she had dammed the clearing flowing stream of the Guruship and consequently great trouble and annoyance shall result." The prophecy was only too literally fulfilled. Prithia, the eldest son of Ram Das, failed to secure the Guruship and all his attempts to oust Guru Arjan proving fruitless, he founded a separate sect of his own, which came to be known as the *Minas*. Similarly, Dhir Mal and Ram Rai refused to recognise their younger brothers, Har Rai and Har Krishan respectively and the *Dhirmallias* and the *Ram Rayees* came into existence. Some of the *Masands* sided with them and disorganisation commenced. The example of these claimants for the Guruship was not lost upon the other members of the Guru's family and it seems that every one of them began to consider himself entitled to the offerings of the Sikhs and appointed *Masands* on his own account. The

climax was reached when, on the death of Har Krishan, twenty-two Sodhi Khatri of Bakala claimed the Guruship each on his own behalf and it seems that even when they were rejected and Tegh Bahadur was recognised as the legitimate Guru, they did not entirely relinquish their designs.

Moreover, political causes added to the embarrassment of the later Gurus and made their position still more difficult. After his three abortive victories against the Muhammadans Hargovind retired to Kiratpur in the hills and ever since the Sikh Gurus lived strangers to Amritsar, the centre of Sikh activities. The machinations of Dhir Mal and Ram Rai, who resided at Delhi and had ready access to the Emperor, compelled Tegh Bahadur to leave the Punjab for some time. He went out on travels to the east and, when he returned, he retired further into the hills and established himself at Makhawal in the territories of the Hill Raja of Bilaspore. It is significant that during his whole career Guru Govind Singh does not seem to have paid any visit to Amritsar. The Sikhs had lost the possession of the priceless copy of the Granth Sahib of Guru Arjan and Tegh Bahadur, their legitimate Guru, was refused entrance into the Har Mandir by the *mutsuiddies* of the temple who shut the gates upon his face. Irony of fate could go no further and it can be easily understood what effect it was likely to produce on the attitude of the *Masands*.

The Guru's weakness was the *Masand's* opportunity and he was not long to take advantage of it. It appears that even under Hargovind some of the *Masands* tried to raise troubles when the Guru inaugurated the policy of armed resistance to the authorities but the Guru was yet very strong and the *Masands* had to submit. But the disputes about the succession since the death of the seventh Guru, Har Rai, led to a positive weakening of the Guru's position and the simultaneous existence of rival claimants gave the *Masands* a ready excuse for misappropriating the offerings. Moreover, they actually took sides in the disputes. Ram Rai could declare himself 'Guru'

only when he became assured of the help of a few recalcitrant *Masands* and we are told that the attempt on the life of Tegh Bahadur, early in his career, was made by a *Masand*. On the other hand, the *Masands* themselves were more of a power than would at first sight appear. We have already seen that they possessed episcopal functions. This enabled them to pose as persons of special sanctity and they soon came to occupy the position of a sort of organised priesthood in Sikhism. Their office had become hereditary. 'They gradually became very influential, in many cases independent of the Guru and had their own followings.' It was to the interest of the *Masands* to perpetuate the uncertainties about the succession to the Guruship and the result is very aptly described in the Sikh chronicles :

"The object of the Guruship was to save the world.....but Ram Rai thought it a means of amassing money. The *masands* followed the example of Ram Rai, and applied themselves, not to spread the religion of the Gurus, but to accumulate wealth for their pleasures.....Ram Rai's desire to collect large offerings was not fulfilled. The *masands* became proud and rebellious, and kept the greater part of the offerings for themselves."

This became the general rule with the *Masands* and when Guru Govind Singh ascended the *gaddi* he was faced with a situation which had passed beyond redemption.

The forced retirement of the Guru from Anritsar, the machinations of the Sodhi Khatri under the leadership of Dhir Mal and Ram Rai, and the defection of the majority of the *Masands* made the continuation of the old order impossible. Many of the *Masands*, no doubt, formally acknowledged allegiance to Guru Govind Singh but they tried to thwart him at almost every step and sometimes even openly declared that the Guru was of their own making and that if they did not contribute the money necessary for his maintenance the Guru would be nowhere. Complaints about the villainies of the *Masands* and the oppression they practised upon the Sikhs

reached the Guru almost daily. They would often go to the houses of Sikhs to take intoxicants and then visit the society of courtesans. "One of them in particular billeted himself on a poor Sikh and claimed sweets instead of the crushed pulse and unleavened bread which formed the staple food of his host. The *masand* took the bread, threw it into his host's face, and dashed the crushed pulse on the ground. He then began to abuse the Sikh, and would not cease until the poor man had sold his wife's petticoat to provide him with sweets." One day a company of mimes was ordered by the Guru to imitate the *Masands*. Accordingly, one of them is said to have dressed as a *Masand*, two as the *Masand's* servant, and the fourth as the *Masand's* courtesan riding behind him on horseback as he went out to collect offerings for the Guru. 'The mimes portrayed to life the villanies and oppressions practised by the *masands*' and Guru Govind Singh is said to have been finally resolved to free his Sikhs from their tyranny.

Still Guru Govind Singh hesitated long before he took any drastic step. It can be easily understood what the abolition of the *Masand*-system meant to the Guru. It meant the giving up of the medium that kept him in touch with his people and the main instrument that provided him with his revenues. And it is significant to note that even when the *Masand*-system had deteriorated to such an extent that Guru Govind Singh was seriously thinking of its abolition, the distant *Sangats*, where the faction spirit had not yet reached, were thoroughly loyal and 'Dacca' actually took part in the work of reformation and uplift undertaken by Govind by supplying first class war elephants, men and munition. Still affairs were coming to such a pass that something drastic became inevitably necessary. When Guru Govind Singh was engaged in a life and death struggle with some of the Hill Rajas, aided by the provincial Mughal authorities, many of the *Masands* deserted him in a body, declared themselves Gurus and are said to have fled to the hills with their accumulated wealth. Guru Govind Singh was

convinced that any further toleration was worse than useless and finally issued a decree excommunicating the *Masands* from within Sikhism.

It was comparatively easy for Guru Govind Singh to excommunicate the *Masands* by issuing an 'ukase' but to dislodge them from their positions was an entirely different matter and we are not aware of any attempt of the kind. The remainder of Guru Govind Singh's life was passed in hostilities with the Hill Rajas and the Muhammadans and after his final defeat at Chamkaur, in aimless wandering. He passed through many hair-breadth escapes and at last found a retreat at Damdama whence he was summoned by Bahadur Shah. He accompanied the Emperor to Delhi and then went to the Deccan where, at Nader, he was assassinated in 1708. Thus, even if Guru Govind Singh had any intention of freeing the *Sangats* from the hands of the *Masands* he had absolutely no opportunity and it seems very probable that at the time of his death the Sikh temples and *Sangats* were mostly under the control of persons who might all have been the followers of Guru Nanak but none perhaps conformed to the new dispensation of Guru Govind Singh. The *Masand* had been excommunicated. He no longer represented the Guru and consequently lost the privilege of collecting the Guru's offerings. But we have no evidence to show that the excommunication was carried to its logical extreme and that the *Masands* were driven out from the *Sangats* as well. If we are to believe the story that Guru Govind Singh had all the *Masands* captured and brought to Anandpur where he most cruelly killed them, to the number of 2,200, by boiling oil and other torments, a story highly improbable as Guru Govind Singh had hardly any means of laying his hands upon the *Masands* of the distant *Sangats*, it would appear that the *Sangats* were left, at least for the time being, to themselves, while at the next stage when the Sikhs were fighting for their existence, they passed into the hands of the *Udasis* and perhaps, in some instances, to the descendants of the earlier *Masands*,

who, it must be remembered, were all men of considerable local influence.

Thus it appears that the question of the Sikh Gurdwaras has its origin buried deep in the past. We have seen that the first noteworthy attempt at organising the Sikhs was made by Guru Amar Das when he introduced his *manjis*, wherein may perhaps be traced the beginnings of the Sikh *Sangats*. In Guru Arjan's hands the *manjis* underwent a huge development and soon Sikh *Sangats* began to grow like mushrooms all over the province. The existence of a strong central authority and the integrity of the local workers ensured the healthy working of the organisation but even then difficulties seem to have commenced in another quarter. The descendants of each successive Guru till the days of Ram Das, in almost all cases, refused to recognise the legitimate Gurus and the Sikhs thereby lost control of the earlier Gurdwaras. The next epoch witnesses the gradual disintegration of the *Masand*-system ending in the general excommunication of the *Masands* by Guru Govind Singh. The entire organisation of the *Sangats* was put out of gear and the first stage in the dissociation of the Sikhs from the management of their temples was complete.

INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE

SOME CURRENCY LESSONS OF THE WAR

V

Before the recent war the utility of the centralised banking system was only half-understood and it was after mature deliberation that the United States of America discarded the decentralised banking system in favour of the centralised banking system but she has managed to secure the real spirit of the system without the existence of a Central Bank itself. England, the European continental countries, Japan and the United States of America alone possessed this system and as a result of war-time experience not only has the centralised banking system been developed in the Union of South Africa and India but so far as financial events can be correctly foreshadowed, the tendency for the adoption of the Centralised banking system is rapidly gaining ground in all the Dominion Countries of the British Empire. It is true that in 1923¹ the Canadian Federal Parliament was unable to force the idea of the centralised banking system on the existing banking institutions of the country. But it must be remembered that the Canadian Chartered Banks, though they consent to an effective supervision by the State, do not generally sacrifice their independence and carry out the behests of the Government.²

¹ In 1923 the charters of all the Chartered Banks of Canada were renewed for another period of ten years. The Minister of Finance who usually controls the central gold reserve of the country tried his best to convince the banks that a Central Bank would make an effective use of the gold if it were to be the custodian of the central gold stock.

² The relation between the Canadian Banks and the Provincial Governments can be illustrated by the incident of the Manitoba Rural Credit Act. The refusal of the banks to lend money to the credit societies at the prescribed rates laid down by the Provincial Government forced the latter to open Savings Banks and an act was passed authorising the Provincial Government to borrow money from private persons for the express purpose of granting loans to the credit societies. The Provincial Savings Act of 1920 was only the direct consequence of the refusal on the part of the Canadian Banks to lend at such low rates as dictated by the Provincial Government.

Before understanding the utility of the Central Bank in restoring the currency system back to order, the events that led to its adoption in the Union of South Africa have to be thoroughly grasped. Like the other neutral countries, the Union of South Africa began to export commodities on a large scale so that the South African Banks realised the payment for this huge volume of these exports in London and accumulated credit balances there far in excess of their requirements. As the volume of imports was greatly contracted during the period of the war there was no scope for the South African Banks to replenish their exhausted resources in South Africa. Hence they had to discourage the drawing of drafts on the depleted home offices. This situation became still further complicated to a great extent by the currency troubles that followed in the wake of the "unpegging" event. When the sterling-dollar exchange was unpegged in 1919, the British Paper Pound began to decline in value. While sovereigns were circulating at 20s in the Dominion of South Africa, the gold bullion exported from South Africa began to fetch a high price in the London bullion market as the British Paper Pound has depreciated. The market price being purely a paper price was necessarily higher than the mint price. In spite of the embargo on the exportation of gold, the smuggler was only too anxious to obtain profits out of the sovereigns and by offering 25s. for every sovereign, he practically amassed a large stock of sovereigns and melted them to be exported as bullion. The South African Banks however had to buy gold bullion in London at the enhanced price so as to mint it in South Africa, into coins for circulation. This could not go on indefinitely and as a remedy to this situation the South African Currency and Banking Act was passed in 1920. The Treasury was authorised to call upon all the banks to deposit their gold against certificates which were declared inconvertible as long as the mint price was lower than the market price. The Bank note thus became inconvertible. But in order to

create additional currency to fill the gap created by the exportation of the gold sovereigns in the shape of bullion, a Central Bank known as the Reserve Bank was formed. The Banks' privilege of note issue was handed over to this Reserve Bank. The newly created Reserve Bank was endowed with the monopoly of issuing notes and rediscounting facilities were thrown open to the ordinary Banks. Thus the needed expansion of currency was secured by making the Central Reserve Bank responsible for the issuing of notes and due safeguards have been enacted to see that these notes are well secured, that the Central Reserve Bank keeps a solid gold reserve and that profits beyond 10% limit would be ceded to the State.

The same thing happened in the Dominion of Australia. Although the Commonwealth Bank was started in 1911, and although it was occupying a predominant position in the banking system of the country in the pre-war days, it was never a full-fledged Central Bank. Like the other National Banks of Europe, it was acting as the custodian of the gold reserve of the country and was also the fiscal agent of the Commonwealth Government. The management of the public debt also was entrusted to it. Though in reality it possessed some of the characteristic features of a Central Bank yet it had no privilege of note issue, nor did it control the money market by the discount rate weapon, and aid the ordinary Banks during periods of stringency. It never assumed control over the financial situation of the country, regulating foreign exchange movements, and securing monetary stability in the country. But the necessity to make it a real Central Bank has been realised. In 1920 the monopoly of note issue was vested in its hands and in 1922 the Commonwealth Bank was asked to help all the Australian Banks owing to the difficulties created by the exchange situation. This position was aggravated to a large extent by the fact that the loans floated by the Dominion Government

in the London Money Market during this year, helped to swell the credit balances of the Australian Banks in their London branches. The depletion of their home resources seriously limited their capacity to finance the wool export trade in the usual manner. The Commonwealth Bank was now authorised to grant advances on securities to all the Banks to tide over their emergency. Thus the post-war experience of exchange troubles forced the Commonwealth Government to develop the Commonwealth Bank into a full-fledged Central Bank with all its coveted privileges and its no less onerous responsibilities.

In Italy the banking situation seems to be tending towards the same direction. It was not however the currency troubles or exchange difficulties that have initiated this welcome movement but the failure of the Banca Italiana di Sconto¹ opens the eyes of the public as to the necessity of a Central Bank. It is true that the three note issuing banks, Banca d'Italia, the Bank of Sicily and the Bank of Naples, worked in close co-operation with each other and honoured the notes of the other institutions. Although a well-secured bank-note currency could be had out of this working agreement among the three Banks yet they have not realised that the duty of the Central Bank is to act as the residuary trustee of the banking system as a whole. The failure of the di Sconto Bank tended to react on the other Banks and the Italian Government had to implicitly instruct the note issuing Banks to help all the sound banks at this time of stringency so as to avoid a financial panic.

Thus all countries realise the importance of the Central Bank to cure their "currency sickness" and aid the process of gradual economic reconstruction. The Central Bank is a "fundamental implement" of the credit organisation and even

¹ This Bank locked up all its assets in industrial financing and the world-wide trade depression which has set in after the war led to the failure of the industrial concerns financed by this bank with the result that nothing but bad debts and worthless securities and "frozen credit" were left to the Bank. In spite of the help of the Banks of Issue to the extent of 700 m. lire, the Bank had to close its doors.

the Soviet Government of Russia which nationalised the credit system by its Decree 14-27, 1917 has realised that it was impossible to finance large enterprises by means of Budget grants and that a credit system was needed to facilitate cash transactions. Hence the State Bank was started on November 16, 1921, with the object of "aiding the development of industry, agriculture and trade by means of credit and other banking operations and with the object of concentrating monetary transactions and adopting other measures for securing a sound monetary system." It is too often presumed by the ignorant people that the restoration of an automatic gold standard system in place of depreciated paper currencies would lead to economic prosperity. But this can never be achieved as the national investment of capital in a gold basis for currency means additional production and additional production is impossible without stable currency values. This is the vicious circle that all countries on "depreciated paper standard" have to face. It is the Central Bank that can help their governments in the task of reforming the home currency and economising the gold basis of the currency. The present currency problem which the European countries possessing a depreciated paper standard have to solve is twofold, namely (1) the task of establishing a settled external value for their currency unit, (2) a reformed and settled home currency. The first part of the problem can be solved to a great extent by the co-operation of national banks establishing international accounts on behalf of their Governments and out of which the payments for international indebtedness might be made. So far as the second aspect of the problem is concerned, the broad current of opinion in economic circles is to support the view that the regulation of credit by the Central Bank can go a long way in attaining a high degree of internal price stability. Before the war, the function of creating credit and settling all transactions by

¹ See S. S. Katzenellenbaum, "Russian Currency and Banking," pp. 151 to 155.

means of cheques was being rapidly developed by private commercial banks. In the picturesque language of Mr. (now Sir) Drummond Fraser "the cheque has hurled the bank-note from the pinnacle of power." In all the important commercial transactions cheques were used. The basic money was no longer "the bank notes" of the Central Banks but the "cheques" based on deposits. The Central Banks had to assume the humble rôle of "a banker's bank" and the Central Bank was retiring from "the periphery of the money market" without causing any inconvenience to it. The honourable duty of acting as the "reserve banks," was left to the Central Banks of Issue. But during the war the relative importance of these Banks of Issue was once more brought to the forefront and as the currency disorganisation of the post-war era has practically destroyed confidence the duty of supplying capital to industry falls on the shoulders of the Banks of Issue and when the Central Banks once more combine the issuing, credit and treasury functions in their hands, they easily regain the predominant position in the money market and financial events can be directed under their intelligent guidance so as to evolve tolerable order out of the monetary chaos which depreciated paper has produced. A proper co-ordination of financial institutions, a really effective unified control over financial operations, a national bank-note currency, which is convenient and elastic at the same time, steady monetary conditions over long periods and a rational control over the inflationary tendencies of bank credit and speculative commitments of the public on the stock exchange can never be obtained in the absence of a Central Bank. Hence the recommendation of the Brussels International Financial Conference for the founding of a Central Bank of Issue in all countries which do not possess one such institution already.¹

¹ See the XIV Resolution of the Committee on Currency and Exchange—Brussels International Financial Conference.

The modern currency reformers do not desire to restore the Central Bank of Issue back to the inactive but honourable rôle of a mere 'bank to the other banks' or a 'reserve bank' usually "out of" the money market but watching it with a providential eye from its Olympic heights. These reformers seek to stabilise prices and in order to attain this ideal the pre-war aloofness from the money market is no longer advocated. The Central Bank of issue in conjunction with the Treasury should aspire to regulate credit and currency in such a manner as to secure a stable standard of value.

This idea of stabilising prices became a topic of international discussion just prior to the war and Prof. Fisher's plan obtained approval of the leading economists in America and Japan. But the relative stability of the value of money over the long period of the XIXth century¹ was considered as a "part of the social fabric" and even economists advocated a policy of laissez-faire in the field of money. As fluctuations in the value of money were limited to a small range² no great enthusiasm for currency reform, could be evoked by Prof. Fisher's proposal.

The "economic earthquake" caused by rising prices during and after the war once more brought this problem to the forefront of economic discussion. This time it was not 'academic amateurs' or 'human book-worms' that have started this discussion but the men of business, politicians, financiers and lawyers are taking keen interest in the matter. All people realise that "they can no longer afford to leave it to the category of which the distinguishing characteristics

¹ "Approximately the same level of prices ruled in or about the years 1826, 1841, 1855, 1862, 1867, 1871, and 1915. Prices were also level in the years 1844, 1881, and 1914." Keynes, Tract on Monetary Reform. See also Layton "Introduction to the Study of Prices."

² "Even during the Napoleonic wars and the period immediately succeeding them the extreme fluctuations of English prices within a single year was 22% "—Keynes, Tract on Monetary Reform, p. 2.

are possessed in different degrees by the weather, the birth-rate and the constitution—matters which are settled by natural causes or are the resultant of the separate action of many individuals acting independently or require a revolution to change them.” In America they have recently started the National Monetary Association to discuss measures to attain a stable price level in the United States of America. The Pollock Foundation for Economic Research undertakes solely an examination of the aspect of industrial activity as dependent on monetary measures. The European countries are not lagging behind. Prof. Cassel and Wicksel of Sweden, Prof. Gide of France, Profs Pigou, and Keynes, and Mr. R. G. Hawtrey of England, Prof. V. Stuart of Norway and several other distinguished economists are keenly discussing the problem of stabilisation of prices. Both before the Brussels Conference and the Genoa International Conference¹ this question was uppermost in the minds of the delegates and experts that took part in the discussion.

The primary advantage or “happy result” of a comparative stabilisation of prices is the stabilisation of the labour market, and the maintenance of a steady output of industry leading to the social well-being of all classes in the community. It has often been thought that a steady price level connotes stagnation of industry; a rising price level denotes stimulation of trade and business expansion and a falling price level spells ruination to the business people. Though the price-level exerts certain amount of influence on businessmen yet the inner springs that control the economic motivation on the part of the businessmen lies inherently in their business talents and acumen rather than in any outside factor like prices. As Layton puts it “national productivity depends much more on the advance of science, discovery and on the training, education and organisation of labour than on the

¹ See the First Resolution of the Financial Commission.

rise and fall of prices." He instances the progress in metal industries as Iron and Steel during periods of depressed prices.

There is almost a consensus of opinion that rising prices are to be preferred to the falling ones. The businessmen and the bankers are emphatic in their declarations for a regime of rising prices. Rising prices mean rising rates of interest and increasing profits. Rising prices expand productivity and furnish scope towards the expansion of bank credit. Businessmen have to make fixed payments as wages and interest on borrowed capital and hence they make less real payments than before. This improves their position and inspires confidence in increased activity. The greater activity of a few successful businessmen has a psychological influence on the other industrialists and tends to produce an all-round expansion of industry.

Several of the economists have argued on the injuries resulting out of a regime of rising prices and do not like the "illusory prosperity" of such periods of feverish activity. Dr. Marshall has shown that the benefits of rising prices are doubtful and he remarks that "one wants very much stronger statistical evidence than one yet has to prove that a fall of prices diminishes perceptibly and in the long run, the total productiveness of industry."¹ Dr. R. Lechfeldt remarks² that "depression of prices, interest and profits are consistent with prosperity for the employee would get more and the employer less and this is not a bad thing in these days of unequal distribution of wealth which is at the bottom of all socialism, syndicalism and other "isms" which aim at the express removal of this inequality." The pre-war economic ideal as regards the level of prices that is desirable, has been best expressed by Dr. Marshall in the following language—

¹ See Dr. Marshall's Evidence before the Gold and Silver Commission—Q. 9816 and the following.

² Dr. R. Lechfeldt, "The Restoration of the World currencies."

"Under an ideal currency system prices should fall at such a rate that fixed salaried men should secure a fair proportion of man's increasing control over his material improvement." It is now no longer fashionable to consider rising prices as a "tonic," "stimulant" or "rise in temperature" speeding up activity. It is not germane to this topic to discuss the influence of changes in prices on the industrialist, the wage-earner and the fixed salaried class or on investors or the creditor or debtor classes. While this topic has been discussed in detail in the past, sufficient attention has not been drawn to the advantages of a stable price-level. There is nothing in a steady price-level which is inherently antagonistic to healthy industrial expansion. The stability of prices acts as a healthy check on the undue expansion and reckless promotion of worthless undertakings which are too often noticeable during the boom days of record prices. As long as the businessmen succeed in gathering "windfall profits" out of unexpected rise of prices, they become the target of attack and various remedies such as "subsidies, price and rent fixing, profiteer hunting and excess profits duties" are resorted to, for transferring a large part of these "windfall profits" to the State and through the State to the community in the long run. Steady prices mean "normal profits" and even the bitterest enemies of "Capitalism" admit the necessity of proper payment to capital for without capital, society cannot live long, labour must perish and production falls away to a low ebb.

Another advantage of stability of prices lies in the tendency to eliminate the piling up of huge stocks which ultimately results in a glut as consumers cannot respond quickly to this abnormal rate of production. The stabilisation of prices naturally brings about a slow but steady expansion of industry which would not only maximise the output but guarantee a steady level of employment to the labourers. Rising prices yield profits out of their own accord and the temptation to pocket profits is so strong that competing

businessmen rival each other in expanding their business leading to better employment and over-time work for the labourers. But when the inevitable tradeslump appears, half-time work and dismissal are the unpleasant consequences facing the labourers.

It is not industry alone that would be benefited. The existence of the investing classes of the society, namely,—the holders of mortgages, bonds, debentures and preference shares—would be at stake if prices were to abruptly alter from day to day. Stability of prices or the value of money would give distinct encouragement to this investing class to pile up large fortunes and as Prof. Keynes says “the investment system has made possible all the material triumphs which are now taken for granted. The morals, the politics, the literature and the religion of the age joined in a grand conspiracy for the promotion of saving. God and mammon were reconciled. Peace on earth was established. A new harmony sounded from the celestial spheres.”

Having understood the advantages of stability of prices the economists propose to attain this by influencing the monetary factor. Many causes monetary and non-monetary exercise their influence on the price-level. The modern currency reformers however aspire to control the price-level by exercising pressure on the monetary situation. Prices generally depend on the relationship between money¹ and goods. The real meaning of stability of prices is to stabilise this relationship between money and goods. If the stream and flow of goods entering into the market is ascertained and if the volume of money is made to correspond with this stream of goods the level of prices tends to be stable.

It is a well known fact that in our modern industrial society the banks “create” the major portion of the purchasing

¹ Money does not mean metallic money alone but the sum total of purchasing power which may consist of metallic money plus all other instruments of credit acting as substitutes for metallic money.

instruments. The creation and cancellation of all purchasing power is done by the banks. If only, this policy of creating credit or restricting credit can be controlled in the real interests of society, the main objective of the reformers would be achieved. The expansion or contraction of credit has to be so devised that the total stock of money is made co-equal with the volume of goods manufactured by the entrepreneurs of the society. The loaning policy of the banks confers a boon not only on the borrowers of bank accommodation but society can be benefited to a large extent by enjoying a stabilised price-level. The loaning policy of the banking system as a whole has to be regulated with this view-point and the Central Bank which is the guide, friend and philosopher to the other banks, is the proper authority to exercise this control for, the independent commercial banks have neither the commanding influence, power, ability nor the sense of responsibility to perform this important duty. The Central Bank is the custodian of the national gold stock, the ultimate repository of all legal tender reserves of the banks, the sole issuer of banking currency and the ultimate sheet-anchor of credit in all emergencies and if it places before itself no other ideal than that of serving national requirements¹ it can secure this proper regulation of credit, on which depends the stabilisation of prices.

According to Cassel, the stabilising of the price-level is the economic goal that a banking system should seek to

¹ "The supply of credit must be so regulated that no rise in prices and naturally no fall in prices, either, takes place. In order to keep demands for credit within the limits of available means the banks must apply interest rates fixed with that object in view as in their continual scrutinising of their demands for credit must also be able to effect the necessary restrictions. The main factor determining the interest rates throughout the entire banking system is the Central Bank's discount rate and in addition the Central Bank naturally possesses a very great influence, owing to the general advice it is able to give to private banks as to their credit policy. A fixed value of the monetary unit can only be kept by properly limiting the granting of credit and principally therefore by a suitable discount rate" — See G. Cassel. "Money and Exchange after 1914," p. 103. Also, his book "The Nature and Necessity of Interest," p. 162 and p. 163.

reach.¹ Prof. Keynes goes a step further than Cassel and says that "in countries where a centralised banking system does not exist, this policy cannot be pursued with advantage." But "they need not despair" says Keynes. They have only to secure a stable exchange value of their currency in another country's currency² whose internal value is quite stable. Mr. Keynes suggests that "the United States of America and Great Britain should separately endeavour to secure internal stability of their price-level and other countries might then conveniently use the dollar and the pound sterling as a basis for the stabilisation of their exchange rates. Thus even international stabilisation of prices can be achieved by this method. Only if one large trading country like the United States of America or Great Britain were to stabilise its internal prices and other countries were to stabilise their rates of exchange with this country's currency not only would exchange stability be secured but prices also tend to be stable in these different countries. Though Keynes has worked out this policy in an elaborate manner, the best exposition of this policy of attaining economic stability through monetary

¹ Prof. Foxwell says its chief duty is to the business world rather than to its shareholders and its chief purpose to maintain financial security and stability rather than to make profit.

² Suppose that France pursues this policy and regulates the exchange rate with England by raising £20 ms. in reserve consisting of bills and other exchange instruments which can be realised on the British and French money markets. A continuous purchase and sale of sterling bills will restrict the fluctuation in the exchange value of the Franc. So long as the English price level tends to remain stable at a certain norm the French price-level also can be made stable to a certain extent. If French prices were to rise relatively to British there would be a tendency for the Franc to depreciate in terms of sterling. The sale of sterling bills can stem the tide for a time but the fund might become exhausted. Hence with the depletion of the fund measures for restraining credit have to be taken by the French authorities and this would tend to remove the continuous depreciation of the Franc. Thus if exchange stabilisation with one country say Great Britain or U.S.A. is established it naturally follows that the French price-level would follow the course of the price-level of Great Britain or U.S.A.

Denmark has inaugurated this experiment in 1924 and its exchange stabilisation reserve was fixed at £5 m. and it is too early to pronounce any definite opinion on the success of the scheme.

regulation and credit control is furnished by Carl Snyder, the General Statistician of the F. R. Board of New York. According to him there are three definite stages in the policy.¹ Firstly, the stabilisation of the price-level should be set down as the correct objective. A definite norm has to be established and 3% variation round this norm has to be tolerated. Secondly, the principal means that should be adopted to secure this objective are the manipulation of the rediscount rate of the Federal Reserve Board as done in 1923, and the purchase and sale of securities by the F. R. Banks. Thirdly, satisfactory information as regards the price level has to be gathered, and forecasting indices have to be constructed to permit 'anticipatory' action to be taken in the application of the above measure. This is to enable the F. R. Board to take 'preventive' action instead of 'compensatory' action after the prices have changed. To forecast the future trend of prices he depends chiefly on the index of the volume of trade and the index showing the rate of turnover of average bank deposits. This part of the proposal is certainly a definite step in advance which he has made beyond Prof. Fisher's suggestions and inspires one with the fond hope that success might be achieved by this sort of action proposed by him.

None can deny that the Bank rate can control credit and, through credit, prices. Historical examples can be quoted in proof of this fact. The raising of the Bank rate can control credit and by restraining credit bring about or initiate a movement towards lower prices.²

¹ See the American Economic Review, June, 1923, p. 248.

Also the Journal of the American Bankers' Association, February, 1924.

² Taking Japanese Banking history into account, we find the Central Bank raising the discount rate from November, 1919, and the upward tendency in prices was arrested in March, 1920. In U.S.A. the F. R. Banks raised the rediscount rate to 7% in May, 1920 and from that date the prices have commenced their downward march. In England the Bank of England raised its Discount Rate to 7% in April 1920 and prices have commenced falling since that date. The same is the case with Norway, Denmark, Finland, Belgium, France and Italy. But in Germany and Austria there was no such movement in the

But this policy would be defeated if the Government would still persist in borrowing from the banks owing to its failure to balance its budget. The monetary brake, has to be judiciously applied at the psychological moment so as to prevent the boom of which the trade depression is only the inevitable reaction.

The more jealous supporters of the Bank Credit policy go a step further and claim that it would solve the widespread unemployment problem that is engaging the attention of the public mind at present in all countries. It is claimed that even trade "cycles" can be effectively checked by a wise and rational control of credit. Mr. Henderson who expresses this view before the recent Unemployment Conference held in London, remarks as follows: "Let credit be controlled as neither to permit the boom nor to induce the slump, when the stage of full activity is reached, let the banks hold trade there and hold the price level steady. The moment there are signs that a boom is in progress, even though it be merely a cloud no bigger than a man's hand, let the brake on credit be at once imposed before any harm is done. The moment that there are signs that a depression is under way let credit be at once offered more fully and on easier terms and then this vicious circle of reactions will be reduced to a narrower and narrower radius until it may disappear altogether."¹ Dr. E. Cannan who participates in the discussion emphasizes on the necessity to curb the boom tendency or "damp it down" but he doubts the efficacy of the bank rate in achieving this object. As he remarks it is true that "the Bank rate is only one charge" that the businessman has to incur and he would not be deterred in expanding the business by a "mere rise in the bank rate." The psychological influence of the rise in

Central Banks' discount rate during 1920 and it remained practically stationary at 5%. See the Memorandum relating to currency issued by the League of Nations.

¹ Mr. H. D. Henderson's Opening Speech on the Unemployment Debate, at the London Unemployment Conference.

the Bank rate would tell its tale effectively. "A 10 % Bank rate is a kind of warning to the businessmen that the boom is about to break and that prices are going to fall." This would have the desirable effect of checking business expansion for the businessman always considers the bank rate as the signal whose indications he has to implicitly follow. Sir Charles Addis says "a rise in the Bank rate is considered by the business people as the danger signal, the red signal, warning the business community of rocks ahead on the course in which they are engaged. A fall in the bank rate is the green light indicating that the coast is clear and that the ship of commerce may proceed on her way with caution."

Prof. Keynes says that healthy markets would lead to stable production and the banks by influencing credit can create confidence in the minds of the businessmen as regards the continuity of healthy markets. "The bank's sole duty is to see that businessmen do not anticipate falling prices for it is this anticipation that causes unemployment. The "businessmen should be assured, that when prices have risen by more than a certain measure, due action will be taken to prevent prices from rising further and this action will diminish very much the expectation of falling prices which they would otherwise entertain."

It is apparent from the above remarks that changes in prices are the determining factors in the instability of industry and if the banks were to administer an effective check by twisting the "monetary screw" much can be done to prevent undue expansion and mitigate the intensity of the crisis that would occur. All theories concerning the origin of the Trade cycle emphasize on the necessity of expansion of banking credit during the boom period. The competition theory, the diminishing utility theory checking demand, the underconsumption theory, the confidence theory, the sunspot theory,

¹ See J. M. Keynes, "Tract on Monetary Reform," pp. 36-38.

the rainfall theory, overcapitalisation theory and the monetary theory have been propounded by the different writers to explain the initial cause of the recurring business cycles in industrial societies. Whatever might be the cause that sets the boom on expansion tendency into operation, the change in prices and the banks, obliging the businessmen with credit are emphasized by a large number of these writers. Prof. Fisher describes the trade cycle as "the dance of the dollar."¹ Prof. Keynes, who postulates that our modern society aims at monetary profits, says that anticipated changes in prices have a profound influence on the course of production.² Prof. Cassel has denounced all deflationary tendencies as they produce a "paralysing influence" on the course of trade and production processes. "It is no use speaking of gradual deflation. Once it is made clear to everybody that prices are to be brought down to a fraction of what they are now, enterprise will very generally come to a standstill, borrowers must suffer terrible losses, banks will show themselves unable to resist the shock and the working classes must be exposed to unemployment to a degree which is in itself a serious evil and which involves a great danger for the maintenance of social order."³ Mr. F. A. Lavington argues that business confidence is the sole cause but "price movements react upon or reinforce the rise in business confidence. Thus there is a powerful cumulative stimulus to trade activity. But within this movement are causes tending to destroy the confidence on which it is based; for, on the one hand rising prices are sapping bank reserves and on the other the artificial profitability of business and the excessive confidence accompanying it leads to errors in business forecasts which sooner or later

¹ Prof. Irving Fisher, *Journal of the American Statistical Association* "December, 1923, pp. 76-80.

² *Reconstruction in Europe*, 18th May, 1922, p. 66.

³ See Gustav Cassel's speech before the International Chamber of Commerce, Rome, 18-24 March, 1923.

must be exposed."¹ Prof. A. C. Pigou also reckons the influence of prices and says that "the liability of general prices to vary or in other words, the instability of the standard of purchasing power is a cause tending to expand the range of the movements that occur in the aggregate wage-fund. Consequently the introduction of any arrangement capable of counteracting this cause would *pro-tanto* lessen the fluctuating character of the demand for labour and therewith the average volume of unemployment."² Prof. Taussig considers that changes in prices have profound influences on the mind of the middlemen—the wholesalers, jobbers and retailers who form the immediate purchasing public for the producers.³

If the banks can check unhealthy expansion during boom days and avert a possible monetary crisis, they can also stimulate business expansion during days of depression. The banks can give "castor oil" to cure the "constipation of congested currency." This can be done by several methods with or without the co-operation of the Treasury. The lowering of the bank rate so as to tempt borrowers is often advocated. This method, again, can succeed only if it is reinforced by the psychological influence, namely, the anticipation of rising prices and the certainty of pocketing profits. All economists realise this cardinal fact and disbelieve the specious half-truth which says "cheap money makes business." R. G. Hawtry says that "even lending money without interest would not help if the borrower anticipated a loss on every conceivable use that he could make use of the money."⁴ "Even speculators realise this" says Mr. Albert Straus. According to him "no rate, however low will tempt borrowing for the purpose of purchasing a commodity whose price is believed too high and broadly speaking no rate, however high will by reason of

¹ Mr. F. A. Lavington, "Trade Cycles," p. 51.

² See A.C. Pigou, "Unemployment," p. 122.

³ F. W. Taussig, "Principles of Economics," pp. 405-407.

⁴ R. G. Hawtry, "Monetary Reconstruction," p. 142.

its being high restrain borrowing intended for the purchase of commodities which are believed certain to rise."¹ Prof. Cannan also utters a warning against overrating the influence of the Bank rate as the only potent instrument for conferring economic salvation on the community. Hartley Withers expresses the same truth by declaring that "prices, credit, industry and enterprise are not a pipe for bank rates' fingers to sound what stop she pleases."

But these writers who condemn the efficacy of the bank rate weapon ought to consider that there are supplementary measures that can be undertaken to bring about the desired end. The lowering of the bank rate can be coupled with the bank's action of lowering the deposit rate of interest to such a figure as to "push money off deposit into circulation." If it is as low as the yield obtainable on investment or speculative stocks, or so low as to encourage spending in preference to the form of remunerative saving, business expansion can naturally result out of the co-ordinated action of a low bank rate and a low deposit rate of interest.² The floating of non-industrial loans by local or central Governments attracting the idle deposit money in the "bank pool" and causing it to be spent among the people will lead to the liberation of money tied up in the banks' vaults. The government might resort to inflation of currency as the trade depression would naturally result in a shortage of government revenue. The unemployment doles would increase the expenditure on the other side and this unbalancing of the budget forces the government to inflate but the "temporary" boom resulting out of this increased expenditure would naturally end in a trade slump producing consequences more severe than the first. Banking inflation as a result of loans granted to the government might lead to the releasing of currency out of the 'banking pool' but it is not productive of manufactured

¹ Quoted from Hartley Withers, "Bankers and Credit."

² See L. B. Angas, "Reparations, Trade and Foreign Exchanges."

goods and hence no business expansion might result. Thus there are several methods to release the 'frozen deposits' in the 'banking pool' but all of them would become ineffective if the consumers go "on strike" and refuse to buy goods. The industrialists seeing no prospective demand for their goods would remain "on strike" as it were, and the banks cannot hope to influence them and make them borrow.

Within these limitations, however, the bank's action can go a long way in imparting stability to the price level and if we consider the other services that banks render to society one can easily understand the reason why banking and credit are regarded as the Philosopher's Stone by Bishop Berkeley. Saint Simon and Auguste Comte, who were shrewd enough to realise the importance of credit and banking organisation for the society, long ago remarked that "the bankers might wield all political power in a well governed community."¹ But before this cherished and desirable consummation can be brought about the banker has to realise his 'social obligation' towards the community and do his level best to secure a steady price level. The banker has to remember what Dr. Marshall has said long ago "that it is worth while to do much in order to diminish the variations in the value of the monetary unit a little" and act up to this worthy ideal.

(To be continued.)

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

¹ There seems to have been a complete fulfilment of this prophecy in Great Britain during the years 1918-1920. All measures have been framed with the express object of regaining the lost credit and financial importance of the City. The restoration of the pound sterling, the liquidation of Britain's indebtedness to America, the deflationary policy pursued at this time, the toning down of the Protectionist practices adopted during the war time, the return to orthodox finance, the attempt to make London a distributor of capital as before and the attempt to sacrifice agriculture and consider finance and commerce as vital factors in the national economic structure have all been due to the dictates of the City interests and these are considered as identical with the interests of the nation.

QUEER TIBETAN CUSTOMS

I. THE DEVIL DANCE.

In early Tibet there were two national dances which held precedence to all others, these were the "Devil Dance" and the "Lama Dance." Of these the "Devil Dance" was certainly the more popular, and was originally a religious ceremony of the old Bon faith which flourished in Tibet prior to the introduction of Buddhism and was intended to propitiate the devils and various earth-demons, the worship of which formed the basic principles of the Bon ritual. Later it degenerated into a grotesque ceremonial dance, held principally at night, in which the performers disguised themselves in hideous masks representing various animals and demons, and careered wildly around a figure of Buddha or a huge bon-fire, uttering wild cries and imitating as closely as possible the motions of the various animals they represented. The significance of these masks was explained by their facial expression and was intended by the Lamas to instruct the ignorant on-lookers in the basic principles of the Buddhist faith. Thus the man who lived a cruel life, would later, according to the laws of Karma and re-birth, as interpreted by the Lamas, returned to this earth in the form of the beast or demon he most nearly represented. Gradually, however, with the ennobling influence of Buddhism and the introduction of a superior class of Lamas into the various monasteries all over Tibet, the popularity of the Devil Dance died out, but many of its rites, costumes, etc., were incorporated and the Lama Dance we see to-day is actually a co-mingling of the two. A description of this dance I give in detail below.

There are indications that this dance was held before the large Tibetan Monastery which crowned the summit of Observatory Hill, Darjeeling, early in the 19th century. Later after its partial destruction by the Gurkhas the Sanga Shetrupling

Monastery, as it is now called, was removed to Bhutia Basti, where it stands to this day.

A description of this Monastery will be interesting. Originally built entirely of wood, it was constructed in the usual Tibetan style, with sculptured pillars and highly ornamented roof and cornices. With the introduction, however, of modern systems of building, a stone structure gradually sprung up round the old monastery till practically the whole of the original wooden building was incased in stone. Much of its original beauty has consequently been lost, this is however compensated for by a visit to the interior.

The Temple, proper, or Holy of Holies, as it were, consisted of a small chamber about 20 ft. square. The roof is supported by eight carved pillars, painted red, green and gold and placed in two parallel rows, forming an isle down which the Lamas advance to the altar. The interior of this chamber is lighted by seven silver lamps, the fuel for which consists of melted butter. Three are placed on each side of the altar, with one, the largest, in the middle. By the ghostly flicker of these lights is discernible the faces of various deities, saints and demons painted in glowing colours on the surrounding walls, while beneath canopied seats, at the extreme end of the chamber, are three statues of the Buddha in his three best known attitudes of meditation. These statues, which are made of brass, are about four feet in height (the middle one being slightly larger) and are evidently objects of great veneration to the ignorant folk who visit this Temple. Along one of the walls, arranged in order, are the sacred scriptures of the Lamas. These consist of 120 volumes, each about $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1 \times 6$ deep. They are wrapped in red and orange coloured silk and appear to be of great antiquity. The books themselves are bound; the covers being of wood, beautifully carved and brown with age. The pages which are of a dark green colour are fully $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch in thickness, and are covered with sacred writings to the Pali script, done in gold or yellow paint.

Outside, in the small court-yard and along the road leading to the Monastery are numerous prayer flags. These consist of a tufted pole to which is attached a long strip of white cloth neatly inscribed with the sacred text of the Lamas.—“Om mani padme hom” (Hail to the Lotus in the Lily).

On the day of the Lama Dance these prayer flags are removed and the court-yard is gaily decorated with coloured bunting. The statue of the largest Buddha is brought out and placed a short distance from the Monastery, facing the entrance. In the centre is a shrine of ‘good-luck,’ composed principally of coloured thread, paper and flags. The worshippers advance towards this shrine, spray it with handfuls of rice or lay various votive offerings, such as fruit, milk, etc., before it.

The dance now commences. Heralded with a flourish of trumpets, a clanging of cymbals and beating of drums, the Lamas, made hideous with their grotesque headgear, troop slowly out of the Temple and commence to circle slowly round the shrine of “good-luck.” Gradually, with the music, the speed of the dancers increase. They work themselves up into a religious fury, whirling swiftly round and round, till exhausted, when with one accord they rush into the Monastery and the first part of the dance is finished. The second part which is more of a play requires some explanation.

Early in the 9th century, King Rañ-pa-chen, grandson of King Thi-srong Detseen of Tibet, who was a great champion and upholder of the Buddhist faith was treacherously murdered by his younger brother Lang Darma. The latter then ascended the throne and in revenge upon the Lamas who had elected his elder brother in preference to him, he drove them out of Tibet, robbed their monasteries, and destroyed their sacred books. As may be expected he was universally hated and a plot was soon formed for his assassination which was accomplished with consummate skill.

Assuming the guise of Black Hat Dancers, Pal Dorje, a young Lama of Lha-lung, with three companions, used to dance

daily below the King's Palace. For a time their efforts were unsuccessful but one day the shouts of the people attracted the King to his window. Here he beheld the dancers and so pleased was he with their skill that he threw them a few coins. Meekly the Lamas advanced to collect the coins, when, finding themselves sufficiently near they drew short javelins from the ample folds of their sleeves and in a moment transixed the King. In the ensuing tumult and confusion the three assassins made good their escape and springing on black horses fled the City. Reaching the Kyi-chu River which flows by the outskirts of Lassa, they plunged into the stream from whence their horses emerged in their natural white colour (for they had been previously blackened with soot) and turning their coats so that the white lining below only shewed, they turned their horses' heads and rode boldly back by the same road by which they had come. In a few minutes they met the King's soldiers in hot pursuit and they called to them enquiring whether some Black Hat Dancers had passed their way. Pal Dorje replied truthfully that they had and advised them to hasten as the fugitives had but recently crossed the river. Thus by a bold stratagem the assassins escaped.

The scene of this assassination is now enacted in the second part of the dance. Two effigies, one representing Lang Darma and another the Makalaka (God of Death) are brought in and placed in the centre of the arena. Black Hat Dancers now appear and circle round and round the effigy of King Darma at which they throw darts composed of dough. The Lamas next appear and imitating the animals they represent gore and tear the effigy to pieces laying the remains at the feet of the Makalaka. They now form up in the following order. First comes Ya-she-Gongpo with a black face and three eyes, as King of the Ogres. With him is his consort Lhama Magzarma, with a blue face. Next and in order follow, Tse-mara with a red face, "Lang" the bull headed ogre, the tiger, the lion, the roe, the "Sa-dag" the monkey, the stag, the crocodile.

and various other earth demons. The procession now starts headed by Black Hat Dancers bearing in their midst the shrine of "good-luck." The start of this procession is the sign for the outbreak of general rejoicings, for besides its historical and religious character, the Lama Dance is an inaugural ceremony, welcoming the Tibetan New Year (February the 14th) and expelling the old. Thus with one accord the on-lookers set up a yell, clashing cymbals, blowing horns, bugles, pipes, whistles, or contentedly yelling to their fullest capacity. Thus amid general rejoicings the Tibetan New Year is officially inaugurated and a new era of peace and happiness assured, with the destruction of the old shrine of "Good-Luck," a new one having taken its place.

II. THE RAIN DANCE.

Of the various other dances of the Tibetans, the Rain Dance is certainly the next most interesting. This dance is performed exclusively by women and it is considered most unlucky for any man to witness it. The dance is held principally at night preferably with a full moon.

I am not sure if this dance is held in upper Sikkim, where droughts are very rare, but I should like to describe one I witnessed in the Terai. It was amongst the Rajbansis of Cooch Behar, the original inhabitants of these tracts, who have wandered north and spread themselves all over the Terai and Southern Dooars.

As even here these dances are extremely uncommon, I lost no opportunity to ascertain the exact time and place, and midnight found us (a local planter and myself) safely ensconced in a huge peepul tree, from which point of vantage we had a good view of the whole scene. What amused me at the very onset was the large number of men, boys, young men, old men and fossils of ninety summers and over, who, in spite of its reputed ill-luck, flocked to witness the performance.

The dance was held in a small clearing in the jungle besides the half-dried bed of some stream. Shortly after we had taken up our positions, about twenty women, mostly young girls, accompanied by some aged females bearing drums and cymbals appeared. In their midst they bore the image of some deity, whom I afterwards came to learn was called "Hudum Deo" a Rain God of great repute in these districts. The idol was made of mud and as far as I can remember was painted red. This they set in the centre and proceeded to watch the moon. This continued until the moon was fairly over-head, when the aged females started the music. The sound was not unpleasant, very much like the "Mohorrum Drums" punctuated at regular intervals by a sharp clang from the cymbals. The instant the music started the young girls sprang to their feet, they then proceeded to strip themselves nude and forming a circle round the idol commenced to dance, breaking the while into a wild plaintive chant. At first their movements were slow and certainly graceful and they seemed to be pleading with the god for some special favour—rain. But as the dance proceeded the music grew louder and more compelling. The movements of the dancers grew wilder and swifter and the plaintive character of their chant changed. Gradually they seemed to work themselves into a fury. Swinging their hands around their heads, twisting and contorting their bodies, they whirled round and round. No longer did they plead with the god, instead they heaped every vituperation and abuse upon him—spitting and hissing at the idol. Their singing changed to songs of the most obscene type, till in a final burst of fury they fell upon the idol, breaking it to pieces and scattering the remnants in all directions. The music now ceased and the performers after dressing themselves returned to the village. All through this ceremony not a single male was visible, although I was perfectly aware and so probably were the dancers, that the whole population of the village were interested spectators.

The meaning of this dance is clear to anyone who has studied native customs. "Hudum Deo" the Rain God is worshipped all the year round by these people and so long as he does his duty and sends rain he is both venerated and loved. But the year he fails in this duty he is taken outside the village and disgraced in the manner described. Should rain fall during the dance, however, or the sky becomes overcast, the repentant god is brought home rejoicing and reinstated with every mark of respect.

III. BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Among the many strange customs of the Tibetans, their burial rites are certainly the strangest and most gruesome.

There are four well known systems of burial, namely, burial by land, by water, by fire and by air.

Burial by land is the most seldom used and is only resorted to in the case of epidemics, such as small-pox, when it is employed to dispose of large numbers of corpses speedily.

Burial by water is confined only to the poorest classes, who cannot afford the cost of labour or of fuel for burying or cremating their dead. The body is usually taken to some lonely spot on the banks of a pool or river, weighted with stones and flung in with little or no ceremony.

Burial by fire is resorted to by the wealthy, but the cost of fuel and the erection of a responsible funeral pyre is such that few Tibetans can afford, consequently the majority resort to what is the commonest, the cheapest and certainly the most sanitary or gruesome method of disposing of their dead, namely, burial by air.

When a Tibetan dies, his relatives immediately send intimation to the family Lama. This dignitary robes himself for the occasion, selects certain sacred books containing their ritual for the dead, spells for exorcising evil spirits and armed with a trumpet, made usually from a human thigh-bone, proceeds to the spot.

Arriving here he gives a few preliminary flourishes with the thigh-bone, mutters a couple of spells and then enters the building. Reaching the side of the corpse the Lama sits down and commences the recital of an interminable litany, which is only interrupted for the partaking of refreshments, tea and *chang* (Beer). In upper Tibet where the climate permits, the corpse is kept for three or four days, but usually this part of the ceremony terminates on the day following the death. The Lama now informs the relatives that the soul of the departed has returned to Nirvana or whatever heaven his sanctity and good deeds entitled him to, and immediate preparations are made for the burial.

There is a class of people in Tibet called Lagbas, whose sole duty it is to dispose of the bodies of the dead. These people are considered accursed and are shunned. They live in miserable little huts on the outskirts of the city. They are permitted to have no intercourse with the inhabitants and marry and inter-marry strictly in their own sphere. They are filthy in their habits and wretchedly poor, in fact the Lagbas and all connected with them are considered as "taboo" in Tibet.

The body of the deceased is placed on a bier consisting of two wooden poles, held together by cross pieces. On this frame a rough net-work of rope is woven and the whole covered with white cloth. This bier is carried through the city by four men, preceded by the Lama muttering incantations and blowing strenuously on the thigh-bone, while the relatives and friends of the deceased follow behind. Reaching the outskirts of the City the corpse is laid on the ground when after a few more incantations the Lama retires accompanied by the relatives and friends. If, however, the deceased is a rich man, the Lama before retiring removes the clothes in which the corpse has been dressed in the presence of the relatives who raise no objection. In fact the Lama will often call on the relatives the next day clad in these very clothes and endeavour to collect his dues.

The retiring of the Lama, the relatives and friends is a signal for the Lagbas to commence operations. Armed with iron hooks these human ghouls advance, transfix the corpse and drag it back to their village. Here they strip it nude, sharing the garments and funeral clothes among themselves, and then at their leisure proceed to deal with the body.

In front of the villages of these people is to be seen several stout stakes driven firmly into the ground. To one of these the corpse is hooked by an iron spike driven through the brain. Armed with saws, axes, kukris, etc., the Lagbas now proceed to chop up the body, stripping the flesh from the bones. During this operation hundreds of vultures collect round the spot, and when the skeleton has been stripped clean, the flesh is thrown to the birds. The bones are next taken and ground between two huge stones, it is then mixed with the substance of the brain, the blood and remaining viscera and made into pellets, which in turn are thrown to the vultures. Thus, even in death, the good Tibetan performs this last sacred act in giving his flesh to the birds for their sustenance.

Queer stories are told of the Lagbas. These unfortunate people live in such misery that they frequently go mad. In their insanity they develop cannibalistic tendencies and often contest with the vultures for the gruesome morsels that are thrown to them. The man-eating Lagba is known as an "Aghori" a regular wild man of the woods, and from the "Aghori" comes the fabled "Charail" or siren of the forest. It is said that when a "Aghori" in his wandering through the woods meets a beautiful woman, he kills her and discarding his former body enters into hers and thus appearing in the guise of a beautiful woman in distress, allures many a benighted traveller to his doom.

The burial ceremony of a Dalai Lama or priest of distinction differs, of course, considerably from the above mentioned method of disposing of his body. In such cases the body is placed in a box and embedded in a marsh salt. The priests in

attendance keep muttering chants while the progress of sprinkling and embedding is in progress, the chanting being accompanied by music. When the body has been completely embedded in the salt, the box is placed in a temple for a period of three or four months during which period offerings are made to it. The disciples of the deceased keep vigil night and day in turn, while prayers and incantations are sung over the body. After this period all the watery portions of the body are absorbed by the salt and the corpse becomes dry and hard. It is now taken out of the box and a composition made of clay, pulverised sandalwood and certain unknown drugs, is spread over the body, resulting in a natural image of the deceased. This image is then covered with gold leaf and carefully put away in a kind of tabernacle which in turn is placed in a highly decorated shrine. These structures are inlaid with gold and silver according to the rank and sanctity of the deceased Lama and are objects of great veneration to the many worshippers who throng these temples.

The salt in which the corpse is first embedded is not thrown away. It is considered to have acquired great virtue and to be a sort of panacea for all ills. It is sold only to a privileged class—aristocrats and priests of distinction—and is swallowed by them in small doses either by itself or dissolved in water.

The Tibetan has no sentiment about this dead. Consequently he has no cemeteries. But among certain classes, who accepting certain doctrines of the Hindus, burn their dead, there are numerous graves, containing only the charred bones, to be found in various isolated spots in the hill side. These graves consist of a single white-washed conical structure, inset with small niches in which are painted various protective deities. As another member of the family dies another storey is added and so on until a regular family vault consisting of three or four such structures, set one upon the other is erected. The summit is usually crowned with a single spire the base of which is.

decorated on all four sides with watchful eyes to ward off evil influences.

The Tibetan, however, makes a fetish of his holy men, and all over the hill sides are to be seen "Chortens" or "Manis" erected to commemorate the memory of some particular saint, a relic of whom is usually concealed in the foundation.

AUGUSTUS SOMERVILLE

NOCTURNE

And now, that Love has come and gone,
The night is haunted, and the wastrel moon
Jeers pallidly at all my ghosts
Who troop around me, wan and sad.
Oh ghostly dreams of that first Spring,
When violets and perfumes merged
Into my first love's face, and all
Life's music echoed in my happy heart.
The night envisions you, my early love.
Too sweet to last, but then, you never knew.
Yet still the fragrance of the flowers,
And music heard at twilight, brings back
The ghosts of memory of that first Spring,
And love, so bitter-sweet, that came and passed me by.

LILY S. ANDERSON

PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP IN INDIA

(A Reply)

Mr. B. M. in criticising our "Peasant Proprietorship in India" in the *Calcutta Review* for December, 1924, has said that he is entirely at one with us—though he has pointed out what he calls "the defects of the book." A word in reply is due from us, and we shall be brief:

The "process" for bringing about the abolition of the Permanent Settlement, has not, it has been said, "made clear, for the reasonings are obscure." Our view is that not only should the Permanent Settlement be abolished and justice done to the cultivator who produces food from the soil for the nation but also the rack-renting temporary settlements of Government Estates under the name of *Khas Mahals*. The process of the abolition should be simple and on the same lines, followed in similar cases in the advanced countries of the world, a compassionate allowance being paid where hardship may accrue,—the amount of which should in no case impose a greater burden on the cultivators or on the revenue upon them than they can bear. There is no room here, as it appears to us, for any abstruse reasoning, and the charge of obscurity, seems to us somewhat out of place (p. 506).

The production of food for the nation is the first and most important consideration, and the first duty of the State is to see that the land yields the maximum quantity of food it is capable of yielding. To treat the arable land as mere "inter-changeable property," and to place the food-producing cultivator in a state of subordination to a profiteering middleman, who has no direct interest in securing increased production, who is to reap the benefits of the tillage without sharing in its burdens, is an outrage upon the rights of the whole nation, for the benefit of a handful of interlopers and the State anxious to discharge its duty to the nation can never allow it, or look on with indifference, while it is happening,—with impunity. It is suicidal. Does our critic mean to say that the interest of the tiller and of tillage and the life of the nation should be jeopardized for the benefit of a handful of unproductive middle men? We cannot support such a view and as a punishment our critic charges us with having left the "constructive aspect" of the question "in a haze." Only look at what the Statute of *Quia Emptores* provides for England (p. 507).

The common cant goes that "India is an agricultural country," which means, as the fact stands to-day, that with our industries killed and our land settlements, temporary as well as Permanent, India to-day is become literally the burial ground of agriculture and of the "agricultural classes." As early as the days of the Rigveda, India with her loom, "lantu" as well as her plough-share "phala" at work was as much an industrial country as it was agricultural. It is disgraceful to us that she should to-day be only an agricultural country with the cultivators perishing like flies from starvation and malnutrition. The production of the wealth of a nation does not depend upon raw, but on finished products, and the true source of a nation's wealth is industries and commerce—"Vanijye Vasati Lakshmi." The Permanent Settlement by diverting capital from industries and commerce to the barren channel of speculation in land for mere profit has helped to kill our industries by turning our money men into sharking middle men, the sleeping partners of the produce of the soil taking no part in maintaining the efficiency of the soil for food-production. The right of such sleeping land-lords is no better than "the right divine of kings to govern wrong." No one disputes the right of the State to receive contribution and taxes from the peasantry, provided as in England, the peasant has an income above the assessable minimum, which in England is £ 160 per annum or about Rs. 200 per month. In India that minimum ought not to be less than Rs. 50 per month. That contribution too can only be demanded by the State as a right, when the State has faithfully discharged its duty of protecting the crops from floods, etc., and the cattle from theft, starvation, etc., as in Hindu and Mahomedan times. Our critic seems to think that kings are to behave themselves towards the peasantry as though they were only but ravenous wolves in a flock of sheep whose "problem," says our critic "was to set up the best method of collecting the due share of the product," without discharging their duties to the peasantry. The problem rather was to help the cultivator to obtain from the soil its maximum yield receiving an adequate contribution—as our poet says—"Sahasragunamutsrashtum." King George III, as we have pointed out, bound down the Directors of the East India Company to the ancient land laws of India thus requiring them to discharge their duties to the peasantry before claiming any contribution or tax from them. The Permanent Settlement, as well as the Temporary Settlements as a fiscal policy were thus *ultra vires*, and the Zemindars created thereby, not to speak of the endless claim of tenure—and under tenure-holders—are interlopers,—and at least, as long as they do not discharge the duty of protecting the crops and cattle of the cultivators, it is preposterous

to speak of their rights to any portion of the produce as rent or tax (pp. 508-9).

How then does the claim for compensation stand? To whom is compensation justly done, and from whom? To the Zemindar who usurped the proprietorship of the cultivators' lands, or to the cultivator who was so long deprived of his right of property in his own land? We leave it to our critic to answer the question. As for the cultivators as a class, we presume they will be quite willing to forego their claim to compensation, provided they now get back what was theirs from time immemorial. No compensation can be justly due to a usurper, and there can be no just demand for a "huge sum" to be paid to the Zemindar. Restoration of one's private property to the owner however tardy, cannot be called "spoliation and an attack on rights of private property." There is therefore nothing impracticable, nothing wrong on our proposal. A "lawless law" is no law. In the case of hardship to any party—the cultivators as a class, we presume, will be glad to pay to any sufferer a reasonable sum as compassionate allowance (p. 510).

It will surely throw new light if we take into consideration the land-laws of America, but we do not suggest the "abjuring of land revenue" altogether. What we press for is that the revenue from the cultivators should be strictly confined within the limits of the "assessable minimum," say confined to incomes above Rs. 50 per month as in all civilized countries, and spent exclusively in effecting improvements in agriculture for the benefit of the agricultural classes. As for the framing of a detailed scheme, it is as yet uncalled for. We hope to see to it, when one is called for. There is ~~no~~ harm if a universal income tax is substituted for the present rack-renting systems of the settlement, permanent or temporary, leaving the starved millions to the tender mercies of the adventurous. If the District Boards are vested with the power of assessing the revenue of the cultivators there need be no "handing over the illiterate millions" to the mercies of "under-paid assessors of taxes" (pp. 510-11).

Any assessment of rent or revenue upon people who already starve because the income falls below the assessable minimum, is sure to lead to the "ryots' ruin." We have personal knowledge of numbers of poor ryots in Backerganj and Tipperah driven homeless with their wives and children after their homesteads were sold for arrears of rent due to Zemindars, and no question being raised in the civil courts whether the Zemindar duly performed his duty of protecting crops and cattle, on the discharge of which alone any demand for rent could be justified. As to the common cant that we having lightened the burden of the cultivators—if you take a

plebescite of the ryots you will find that nothing of the kind has been done. On the contrary from the increase in the prices of the barest necessities of life, combined with the diminished yield of food-crops by the soil for want of that lawful protection of crops and cattle, to which the Ryot has a right, famines are become perennial. Our critic all along forgets that the Hindu Kings and the Muhammedan Emperors did what they could to protect the crops, and found food for the cattle in return for what they took from the cultivators. As for the "terms which the tenants consider fair" in rent enhancement cases in Settlement Proceedings, we ourselves spent about two years in Settlement Work, and cannot be expected to take for granted the *ipse dixit* of a Zemindar or his friend, as to what the tenants themselves consider as fair. Mr. R. C. Dutt indeed pressed for the extension of the Permanent Settlement to the rest of India where the land is held by the Government direct as their property or Khas Mahal subjecting the cultivator to periodical rack-renting. Our position is quite different. We press for the abolition of both the Permanent Settlement and of the Government Khas Mahals—the land being really the absolute property of the cultivator. It is not fair to say that we suggest the abolition of rent or tax of land altogether. What we plead for is to confine the tax on land on the income of the cultivator above the assessable minimum,—say above Rs. 50 per month (pp. 511-12).

Our critic says that it is an exploded doctrine—to talk of the ryot as "toiling from morn to noon, from noon to dewy eve." It is difficult to see the relevancy of his raising that question, when the point at issue is really the ryots' right of property in his soil. Is not the wish father to the thought? Grant that "most of the land within the permanently settled area is one-cropped." Grant that the ryot has employment only for a total of "three months during the year." Who could have the effrontery to deny that during those three months the ryot has to drudge slave-like "from morn to.....dewy eve." To this, add the fact that during the remaining nine months of the year the ryot has no employment or no employment on a living wage. If it were like that to the peasantry of any of the advanced countries of the world they would have been given unemployment pensions. As it happens here, the ryot, the poor producer of our food, himself has to starve with wife and children, and is the first to die of famine, malaria, or Kala-zar. Ay, "get for him something to labour for" on a living wage. We never suggested that the ryot had over-employment on a living wage. Far from it. One who was an officer for ten long years, in the interior of Backergunj, Tippera, etc., is expected to know something of the "realities of the situation" (pp. 512-13.)

We are extremely sorry to learn that some expressions we used has given offence to any lover of the Indian peasantry like our critic who admits that he appreciates our motive and is "entirely at one" with us. "Faithful are the wounds of a friend." I thought I was only calling a spade a spade. That is my only plea. Surely "abuse" is no argument, and Heaven forbid that I should have recourse to abuse to supply the place of argument. Our critic should also remember that mere argument for its own sake, is waste of time, for "though vanquished one can argue still." The greatest controversialist of the world, our own Sankaracharyya gave it as his opinion—"tarkasya chapratishthitavat." "There is no finality in mere argument" for any argument spun out to endless length. Life is action, life is motion, and a bit of plain speaking like a blister, may make us to action on the principle of what the doctors call, counter-irritation. Let our critic reflect how callous, how pathetic the landlords as a class are to the sufferings of the starving peasantry. While the advanced countries of the world are fighting tooth and nail to help the peasantry with loans without interest, bounties, unemployment and old age, and state-aided insurance against disease and accidents, our own landlords and educated classes are merely sitting on the fence "arguing and arguing without end and without doing anything to save our peasantry from starvation. We sleep on, resenting if any one tries to disturb our sleep by the use of intemperate language: worse still, vampire-like we quietly and self-complacently go on sucking the life-blood of the poor peasantry, not a voice of protest being heard from any quarter. We disclaim all pretensions to originality. We plead for bare justice for 50 per cent. of our people. Should the claim for justice stir up "class or communal warfare" our case would seem to be hopeless. But we trust in Providence, and hope against hope.

DWYNADAS DATTA

IS *HAMLET* A PROBLEM?

I.

It may seem presumptuous to attempt once more to solve what has been almost universally abandoned as "the sphinx of modern literature." But *Hamlet* is such a fascinating study that every student of Shakespeare is irresistibly attracted to it and feels impelled to prove to the world that he has not merely enjoyed but understood the piece. What emboldens him in this venture is the assurance that however poorly his enterprise might thrive he would be in a numerous and extremely honourable company.

There is a special feature in *Hamlet* that places it in a class apart among the plays of Shakespeare. While the action of his other plays follows a more or less logical course and is clearly intelligible in its development and sequence, that of *Hamlet* seems to be shrouded in obscurity. The action, or rather the inaction, of the hero seems to have been left inadequately explained in the play. "Why does Hamlet delay to revenge his father's murder?" is an obstinate question that haunts every student of the play and he fails to find a satisfactory reply to it. He feels that something is lacking, some link is missing which would have explained the inexplicable course of the action and the mysterious conduct of the hero. He is confused and bewildered, and ends by swelling the usual cry, "Shakespeare's *Hamlet* is an insoluble riddle—it is a 'problem.'"

Yet an extremely curious thing about it is that one who approaches the play for sheer enjoyment, either in his study or at the theatre, hardly experiences any sense of deficiency in it. *Hamlet* has been always one of the most successful and popular plays, and this alleged mystery in it, that has been

¹ A paper read at the inaugural meeting of the Dacca University English Association, 25th of November, 1924.

puzzling the critical world for the last three centuries, has not ever stood in the way of making Hamlet "the darling of every country in which the literature of England has been fostered." Our imaginative impression of the play does not contain the consciousness of any difficulty in it at all. The "problem" therefore is not aesthetic but intellectual, and is confined to the world of Shakespearean scholars and critics. Of course a mere aesthetic or "impressionist" judgment of a piece of literary art is out of court in the realm of scientific criticism, but it is undeniable that the aesthetic impression which a drama produces, if that impression is fairly universal, certainly raises a strong presumption that the impression is the fact; and one should not forsake it in favour of a contrary position unless arguments of an overwhelming character are advanced to rebut its suggestions. Apart from this, in the case of *Hamlet* in particular we cannot entertain the position, "Hamlet's delay is a mystery" without stultifying the play altogether, and declaring it to be a complete failure as a work of art; for this delay of Hamlet is not a minor factor in the drama, but its basic theme and the chief centre of its dramatic interest. To say that Hamlet's delay has been left mysterious and unexplained is to bring against the drama the charge of obscurity in the presentation of its hero who, in this piece, much more than anywhere else, is the whole play.

Those who treat the play as a 'problem' offer a counsel of despair, and give up the drama as one whose action cannot be explained from within. They then stretch forth their own imagination to find, if possible, an extraneous solution of the mystery. The most remarkable achievement in this direction is the work of Mr. J. M. Robertson, who, in a treatise entitled *The Problem of Hamlet* and also in a recent work, *Hamlet once more*, has tried to establish that the cause of 'the delay' is to be traced to the circumstance that Shakespeare's *Hamlet* is not a planned drama, but a work of adaptation. He has attempted to prove that it is based upon an old play, probably written by Thomas Kyd, in which a young prince did not put a usurper to

death immediately, and has suggested that whereas this delay was explained clearly in that play, Shakespeare in adapting the story for his drama has retained the delay, but furnished no reasons to account for it. Now to say this is to declare that Hamlet's unexplained delay is due to Shakespeare's unskilful adaptation of an old play, upon which his work is based. But was Shakespeare usually a failure in his recasting of old materials for the production of his dramas, nearly all of which are modelled on old plays or based on borrowed stories? His works as a whole rather bear an eloquent testimony to his almost magical power of transmuting base metals into gold. Without being so bold as to deny, out of hand, the possibility of Mr. Robertson's learned contentions, I would only say this that we cannot readily subscribe to his conjectural theory, which relates to an old play which is not extant, and which does not fit in with Shakespeare's extraordinary success in the rest of his works in improving upon his originals, and implies that the most popular of his plays can be understood only in terms of some earlier play.

Akin to Mr. Robertson's theory are what have been characterised by Prof. Bradley as "objective theories" concerning Hamlet. One of them is the "Swiss Body-guard theory," which holds that what restrained Hamlet and delayed his revenge was that the King of Denmark was constantly surrounded by a dreadful Swiss Body-guard; another is the "Public Justice theory," which maintains that Hamlet had to wait and collect evidence for arraigning the King publicly, because what he wanted was not a private revenge but public justice. All these theories give up the play itself as hopeless, and seek to patronise Shakespeare by suggesting plausible explanations of the delay which might be introduced in a revised edition of the play, and which Shakespeare might have used to avoid this great drawback in his work.

This then is the real significance of the theory that *Hamlet* is a 'Problem', and those who support this theory really do not

blame *Hamlet* for his delay in performing his task, but accuse Shakespeare of failure in accomplishing his; and Professor Cluton-Brock very pertinently remarks in his *Shakespeare's Hamlet* that the "Problem" is really not one of Hamlet's conduct, but of Shakespeare's misconduct.

II.

We have seen that those who hold that *Hamlet* is a 'Problem,' maintain that the play cannot be explained from within. We should naturally pause and return to a closer study of the piece before we throw it overboard by accepting this position of the "Problemites." But while we are searching within the play itself we unfortunately encounter there also another class of critical opinions against which we should be equally on our guard. These of course do not hold the play to be a 'Problem'; and they find an explanation of Hamlet's delay within the play itself. They do not accuse the dramatist of obscurity of presentation, but they find fault either with the constitutional character of the hero, or the nature of the task he is called upon to perform. There are several well-known theories of this class associated with great names. One of these would cut the Gordian knot by tracing Hamlet's delay to an excessive fatness of his body. It places reliance on the stray remark about Hamlet made by the Queen in course of his duel with Laertes in Act V, Sc. 2 that

"He is fat and scant of breath."

Another theory of this type would urge that the delay was caused by an excess in Hamlet of the speculative or reflective habit of mind, which paralysed his faculty of action. Then there is another view that Hamlet was deranged in mind and actually a lunatic. All these theories derive support from stray passages, here and there, in the play, but there is this great objection against them, that they all impute to Hamlet a constitutional abnormality, in physique, temper

or mental habit that made him unfit for any kind of action in any circumstance in which he might be placed. His unnatural conduct is traced to a constitutional morbidity in him which completely paralysed all powers of action, and which was entirely independent of the situation in which he is placed in the play. Now, if we accept any of these theories, Hamlet ceases to be a conscious agent, morally responsible for his conduct, and degenerates into a pathological case which might have an interest for the medical man or the experimental psychologist but none for the student of literature. These theories would imply that Hamlet, as he was made by nature, was bound to behave in the way in which he behaves in the play. They leave no room for conflict in the hero's mind, allow him no power of voluntary choice, and impose his constitutional nature upon him as a compelling power that forces him along the line of action that he pursues in the play. Now, this goes counter to the fundamental principle of Shakespeare's conception of a tragic hero, who is always a free agent, and whose action is ultimately dictated by his own personal choice. The pathological condition which these theories attribute to the hero might excite pity, but no real tragic interest; but as the play *does* make a tragic impression upon us, we cannot accept this type of theory as an explanation of Hamlet's delay.

There is again another class of theories of this kind, which is equally unacceptable. The most characteristic of this variety is that advanced by Werder in his treatise entitled *The Heart of Hamlet's Mystery*. He holds that Hamlet's inaction is to be traced to the insurmountable difficulties of the task imposed on him, and seeks to establish that the obstacle in Hamlet's way was nothing in his character, but was the peculiarly difficult nature of the task he was called upon to perform. This theory too entirely kills the character-interest of the piece, and reduces the play to a mere play of incident or situation. It thus entirely contradicts our imaginative impression of the piece as one of the most exquisite plays of character ever written.

All these theories disintegrate the action of the play; those of the former type finding an explanation of Hamlet's delay in his constitution apart from the situation of the play, and the latter variety, exemplified in the view of Werder, tracing the delay to the situation, quite irrespective of the character. The one holds that Hamlet was incapable of performing any action, and the other that a task like the one imposed upon him was incapable of being performed by any one. Now, as, according to these views, the situation has no share in unfolding the character of the hero, nor does the character of the hero shape and develop the situation, they practically deny Shakespeare's *Hamlet* the main source of dramatic interest that a play can have, namely, the inter-dependence and inter-action of character and incident.

We must, therefore, lay aside these theories too for the time being, and see if we can discover some other explanation which will answer to our imaginative impression of the play as a Shakespearean masterpiece, and of the hero as one of Shakespeare's most marvellous creations, endowed with the richest character-interest.

III.

Characters in plays do not stand for the persons they represent in their wholeness or entirety, but indicate a phase or aspect of them brought out by the situation in which they are placed. In short characters in plays are what have been described by Maurice Morgann in his famous study of Falstaff, "dramatic characters," i.e., adjusted characters devised by the dramatist for a particular occasion or situation,—characters in an artificial condition. But the great peculiarity of Shakespeare's dramatic characters is that although they stand for a portion of the persons they represent, they afford through them a glimpse of the entire character; so that although seen in the part, they are capable of being unfolded and understood in the whole. This roundness and integrity which is a special feature

of Shakespeare's characters, is very noticeably absent in those painted by other dramatists. These usually seem to have been created only for the dramas where they appear, and do not impress us like Shakespeare's characters, as living beings having an independent larger life outside the special situation of the plays. This, while it gives to Shakespeare's characters the life and vitality of human beings in the flesh, renders them, like persons in real life, liable to be misunderstood; for in them what appears within the drama does not sum up the dramatist's entire conception of the character, and much is left to be inferred by the imaginative impression of the reader or spectator. This is why Shakespeare's characters are always understood by different persons in different ways. Now, if all his characters are "characters adjusted to special dramatic situations," his Hamlet is pre-eminently so. Shakespeare has given ample indication to show that the Hamlet that we meet with in the play is not what he was in his normal condition, but is one "transformed." We have the testimony of diverse persons in support of the fact of this "transformation": In Act II, Scene 2, the King says to Rosenkrantz and Guildenstern, the two school-fellows of Hamlet:—

"Something have you heard
Of Hamlet's transformation; so call it,
Since nor the exterior nor the inward man
Resembles that it was."

The Queen follows by speaking in the same strain, and beseeches the two young men to visit

"My too much changed son."

Later on, in the same scene, Hamlet himself refers to this change:

"I have *of late*—but wherefore I know not—lost all my mirth, foregone all custom of exercise....." In

Act III, Scene 2, Ophelia adds her testimony to this transformation:—

“O, what a noble mind is here o’erthrown!

* * * *

* * * O, woe is me,

To have seen, what I have seen, see what I see!”

All these evidences indicate that it is a ‘transformed’ Hamlet that we meet with in the play. They imply that the normal Hamlet was quite different from this, and that the transformation that had thus altered him, almost out of recognition, had come upon him “of late.”

Side by side with these indications of the ‘transformation’ of Hamlet, Shakespeare affords us glimpses of Hamlet’s normal character, as it was before the circumstances of the play had brought about this transformation. The normal Hamlet seems to have had a profound admiration for the beauty and greatness of man. In Act II, Scene 2, he says:

“What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals!”

He seems to have also had a passionate love for Nature. In the speech just quoted from, he refers to different objects of Nature in such terms as these:—

“This goodly frame, the earth, this most excellent canopy, the air, this brave o’erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, etc.”

He also appears to have taken a keen interest in the theatre. In the same scene Rosencrantz introduces to him the players as “Even those you were wont to take delight in.”

In Act IV, Scene 3, we find an indication that he was greatly beloved of the people: The King says—

“Yet must not we put the strong law on him:

He’s loved of the distracted multitude.”

Above all, in Act III, Scene 2, Ophelia gives us a picture of the normal life and character of Hamlet, glowing with love and joy:

- "The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, sword,
The expectancy and rose of the fair state,
- The glass of fashion and the mould of form,
The observed of all observers."

Now, what is the character of the 'transformation' which this normal Hamlet underwent on account of the circumstances of the play? They brought about a revolutionary change in his conception of human character and in his attitude towards the world. Man delights him not, no, nor woman neither. Frailty and Womanhood become synonymous in his dictionary; man, whom he previously looked upon as "an angel and a god" he now thinks, to be "an arrant knave." The earth appears to him to be a sterile promontory and the air and the sky to be "no other thing than a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours." He erases from the tablets of his mind all noble ideals that he had imprinted on them, wipes away "all saws of books, all forms, all pressures past, that youth and observation copied there." He has now learnt what he never knew before, "That one may smile and smile, and be a villain." He sinks into the depths of despair, loses all interest in life, and wishes that his "too, too solid flesh would melt, thaw and resolve itself into a dew."

All these show that the situation in which Hamlet is placed in the play brings about a complete metamorphosis in him,—the joyous, loving, optimistic young man is converted by it into a brooding, cynical pessimist. This knocks on the head all those theories, referred to before, that would trace Hamlet's delay to a constitutional melancholy in himself.

But what are the circumstances in the play that thus transform Hamlet? The wicked speed with which his mother had married his uncle, in less than two months of his father's death,

and the Ghost's message about the murder of his father by his uncle. But why should these events give him such a tremendous blow and so completely revolutionise his entire conception of human character? It is because Hamlet seems to have had by constitution a lofty idealism in his conception of human character and his view of the ways of the world. He had pitched his ideal of conjugal devotion and human virtue too high; and it is for this that the by-no-means uncommon events of a woman taking a second mate and a man murdering a reigning brother to pave his own way to the throne, gave him a stunning blow that cast him into the slough of cynical despair. But this Idealism is not something which is by nature morbid or unhealthy, and far from being an impediment to action, it is usually a powerful stimulus towards noble efforts in life.

We are now in a position to state that there was nothing in the normal constitution of Hamlet to retard him in the pursuit of his revenge. Is the source of the delay to be traced then to the effect of the 'transformation' that came upon him as a result of the shock?

IV.

Now, what is the nature of the effect that this shock produces on him? The fact that it 'transforms' his normal mood and temper indicates that the blow that it dealt him was a staggering one. There can be no doubt about this; but a keen controversy rages in regard to the question of whether the blow actually killed Hamlet's entire faculty of action or not. There is a large body of critics who hold that it did. Some of them maintain that the terrible nerve-shock demented Hamlet, made him actually mad, and therefore necessarily killed all his capacity for action. Others are of opinion that the blow gave Hamlet a stunning psychic shock, and threw him into such a state of dark despair as killed his zest in life and destroyed his faculty of action. Now, if we accept either of these two views, the problem of Hamlet's delay is at once solved; for both the

theories hold that the terrible nervous or psychic shock killed Hamlet's entire capacity for action. If the power to act is lost, procrastination and delay in executing a given deed follow as a matter of course. But, however tremendous the force of the shock might have proved, does it destroy Hamlet's entire faculty of action? Let us take the two alleged effects of the shock, one by one. As for the view that the shock threw Hamlet into an actual state of lunacy, we may say, that if those that adhere to this view claim that Hamlet thereby lost all powers of free choice or voluntary action, they will find little support from the text. For although, after receiving the shock, Hamlet from time to time behaves himself in a wild manner and utters "whirling words," he as often as not speaks shrewd sense, gives "pregnant replies," and conducts himself in a perfectly sane and sober fashion. Those occasional instances of incoherent words and wild behaviour could not properly be called symptoms of "madness"; for if it was "madness," there was method in it, as Polonius said, and a madness with a method is almost a contradiction in terms. His words to Horatio, his trusted friend, were always perfectly sober. His soliloquies, his admonition to his mother, his cleverness on board the ship in frustrating the king's design,—all these marks of sanity entirely negative the theory that Hamlet became really mad as a result of the shock. His instructions to the players are such a valuable contribution to histrionic art that a critic has aptly observed, "If Hamlet is a madman, then the Academy and the Athenaeum ought to have correspondents in Colney Hatch, for madmen say finer things than ever are said by men in their right sense." The few instances of apparent insanity that we meet with can all be explained away as proceeding from paroxysms of despair and occasional moods of ungovernable bitterness against the king, his courtiers or his sycophants. But a general mental instability had of course come upon Hamlet on account of the shock: but this did not make him "mad" in the medical sense of the term, and the recipe of syrup of Poppy prescribed by one of

Shakespeare's medical critics, a 'mad doctor,' to be taken perhaps in a double sense, as a remedy for Hamlet's disease, would have been absolutely fruitless. But without lingering further over this discussion as to whether Hamlet was made really mad or not as a result of the shock, we may say at once that, admitting for argument's sake that an attack of insanity came upon Hamlet on account of the shock, it was clearly of a type that left ample lucid intervals to enable Hamlet to accomplish his design of revenge, if he had cared to carry it into effect. In any case, when it allowed him to take part in a fencing contest with Laertes and to perform so many other rational things that I have mentioned before, it cannot be said to have destroyed Hamlet's powers of action.

As for the view that the blow gave Hamlet a terrible psychic shock that killed his power to act by throwing him into a state of cynical despair, it may be said that this would not necessarily weaken his spirit of vengeance against his father's murderer. A mood of cynical despair is more likely to whet than dull the edge of revengful wrath. There is not much logic in Mr. Robertson's statement that merely because Hamlet, as a result of the shock, did not think life worth living, he thought revenge to be something not worth taking. Without entering into a psychological discussion on the point, we may say that the play shows that Hamlet retained fully his power of vindictive action *after* the shock. His swift and relentless retaliation of the treachery of his two school-fellows, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, by his clever device on board the ship proves conclusively that the shock did not dull Hamlet's general spirit of revenge or destroy his capacity for vindictive action.

It thus seems quite clear that however stunning the shock may have been it did not throw Hamlet into a compulsory state of inaction. It killed his faith in human character no doubt, but it did not destroy his power of action. Hamlet's delay in revenging his father's murder cannot therefore be traced merely to the dazing effect of the shock which he had received.

We thus find that Hamlet's capacity for action is never lost. We have already seen that constitutionally he had no morbidity or temperamental melancholy that could have weakened his faculty of action; and now we see that the events in the play through which he passed, although they gave a rude shake to his mind, did not rob him of his power to act. The source of this delay cannot therefore be traced either to Hamlet's natural constitution or to his transformed nature.

V.

From what has been said before, it seems clear that Hamlet although greatly shocked by his mother's fall and his uncle's crime, remained a free agent in the matter of performing the task imposed upon him by his father's ghost, and to act or not to act was perfectly optional with him. What is it then that induced him not to exercise that option in the natural and expected way, and made him pause and linger in the execution of his revenge?

Some hold that this delay was forced upon him by the necessity of waiting for a suitable opportunity for attacking such a powerful enemy as Claudius. According to this view, as soon as the Ghost gave his message and urged Hamlet to revenge, Hamlet at once perceived the immense difficulty of his task. The supreme need that he felt of extreme caution and cunning led him to assume a false cloak of lunacy to disarm the suspicion of his uncle-king. Now, if Hamlet had really thought his task so difficult and made such elaborate preparations to watch for a convenient opportunity, would he have let go the opportunity that presented itself to him when he found the king at his prayers, alone and unprotected? Again, does this excessive care and caution fit in with the mood of reckless despair, often bordering on a desire to commit suicide, in which Hamlet was at the time? Then again, what advantage could he possibly derive from this pretence of lunacy? Would he not

thereby play into the hands of his enemy and furnish him with a handle against himself? It could not aid his design but would rather thwart it, as, in fact, it did. It enabled Claudius to deport Hamlet to England on the plea, "Madness in great ones must not unwatched go." And if this pretended lunacy was assumed as a carefully planned device, would Hamlet have betrayed the secret to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, whom he rightly suspected to be the king's spies, by telling them what he does in Act II. Sc. 2 :—

"My uncle-father and aunt-mother are deceived. I am but mad north-north-west; when the wind is southerly I know a hawk from a handsaw."

All this shows that the theory that the delay was caused by the extreme care and caution that Hamlet was taking by assuming a false cloak of lunacy, is not supported by the text.

There is another view that would trace the delay to a weakness in his filial devotion to his father. This view too is quite unacceptable, for we have abundant evidence in the play of Hamlet's extraordinary love for his father, which finds such an eloquent expression in his admonition to his mother in Act III, Scene 4.

Nor could the delay have been due, as is sometimes held, to any cowardice in Hamlet. When he killed Polonius inadvertently, he did not betray any fright at what he had done; his challenge to Laertes at the grave-yard, his ready acquiescence in the king's proposal to engage him in a duel with Laertes, his bold exclamation to Horatio and Marcellus, when they would have prevented his rash pursuit of the Ghost—

"Unhand me gentlemen,

By heaven I'll make a ghost of him that lets me,"

all these are enough to save Hamlet from a charge of cowardice.

Was the delay then due to any doubt in Hamlet's mind about the authenticity of the story told by the ghost? Now,

some passages in the piece, and Hamlet's arranging for the play which he said was the thing wherein he would catch the conscience of the King, might seem to support this view. But we must judge Hamlet, as we judge a person in real life, more by what he does than by what he says. When the play convinces him that the Ghost had spoken the truth and the uncle was really guilty, does Hamlet proceed straightway to wreak his vengeance? Does he not rather continue to shrink from the deed as much after the play as before it?

VI

What is it then that inhibited Hamlet in the accomplishment of his task? We have seen Hamlet had the capacity, the courage, the opportunity, the proper filial devotion to the murdered father and the conviction of the culprit's guilt; and yet he would not act. The heart of the mystery obviously lies deep, and is not traceable on the surface of things.

Before seeking the source of the delay, let us find out the nature of the task in the performance of which he lingered and delayed. Usually we think that the task imposed upon Hamlet was nothing more than killing his father's murderer; and critics, conscious of their own powers to accomplish such a simple thing at a moment's notice, are up in arms against the unnatural delay of Hamlet. But did Hamlet understand his task to be of the same nature as we think it to be? Now, Shakespeare has emphasised one distinctive trait of Hamlet, namely, his isolation from the general run of men in regard to his way of looking at things. Denmark, which was a pleasant place to other men, was to him a 'prison'; and on being asked why he thought so, he replied—

"There is nothing either good or bad but thinking makes it so."

A custom to which all Denmark submitted as a wholesome one, he, although a native there and "to the manner

born," thought to be pernicious, "more honoured in the breach than the observance." When he had this striking singularity in his estimate of things, it is only natural that a task which his critics have understood to be nothing more than killing a guilty uncle, would be understood by Hamlet in a different way. As soon as the Ghost has disappeared after urging him to proceed to immediate revenge, Hamlet exclaims :

"The time is out of joint : O cursed spite,
That ever I was born to set it right."

Now, was he really called upon to set right the time out of joint, or merely to wreak vengeance for his father's murder? Here is a wide expansion, made by Hamlet himself, of the scope of his task, which he understood to be the curing of a degenerate world. If Hamlet had understood it to mean nothing more than the wreaking of a personal revenge for the murder of his father, he would have probably found no difficulty in accomplishing his task and, like an ordinary man, would at once have rushed upon his uncle to put an end to him. He had already thought occasionally of committing suicide ; and one who did not hold his life "at a pin's fee," would not have delayed in the least out of regard for personal safety. His mother's fall and the Ghost's story of the murder of his father by his uncle convinced him that the world is corrupt to its marrow, and that there is no honesty or honour in human character ; and the Ghost's injunction of revenge is interpreted by Hamlet to mean an attempt to cure the world of this besetting corruption. This seems to him to be an impossible task ; and he curses his fate that, of all persons, he should have been chosen to attempt it.

But why does Hamlet magnify in this manner the scope of his task? It is because Hamlet, as we have seen above, had a singular method of looking at things. He seems to have had a Brutus-like cast of mind, and impersonal bent of thought, a habit of looking at things, not from a narrow, personal point

of view, but with the wider vision of the world at large. This expansive bent of his mind did not allow his thoughts to concentrate themselves on the villainy of his uncle, which alone could lead to immediate effective action, but led them to ponder on the general villainy of the human character, of which the action of his uncle was but a sample. This generalising tendency that had led him before to extend his mother's failings to her whole sex and declare "Frailty, thy name is woman," leads him, after the Ghost's announcement of his uncle's crime, to extend his uncle's villainy to all men, and virtually to declare, "Knavery, thy name is man." So absorbing in his mind are these general thoughts of the depravity of women and the knavery of men, that all thoughts of the personal and the particular are drowned in them. His hatred of the beastliness in life itself, which the King represents for him, swallows up for the time being his personal feelings of vindictive wrath against his father's murderer. When, after the disappearance of the Ghost, Horatio asks him what news had been communicated to him by it, he replies that it was something very wonderful namely, that

"There's ne'er a villain dwelling in all Denmark
But he's an arrant Knave."

It is in this form that the Ghost's story came to Hamlet. It was not so much a message of the uncle's foul and unnatural murder as a revelation of the extremes of knavery to which human villainy could go in real life. When we meet Hamlet for the first time after his encounter with his father's Ghost, we do not find him in a frenzy of avenging passion, but in a cool and sedate mood, "reading." And what is the trend of his thoughts at this time? "To be honest, as this world goes, is to be one man picked out of ten thousand." "Use every man after his desert, and who should 'scape whipping?" If the world is grown honest, "then is doomsday near." It is this depressing sense of a complete rottenness in human character, which has been just brought

home to him, that is the abiding idea in his mind, and this convinces him of the utter futility of an act of revenge on his uncle which his mind has expanded into a task of correcting the entire world. It is not that his wrath against his father's murderer is killed in the process; but what happens is that his spirit of personal vengeance is dulled by this train of thought about the general depravity of human character, and he is held back from forming and pursuing a steady plan of hot revenge. This is what constitutes all 'the delay' with which Hamlet can be charged—this failure on his part to proceed to immediate revenge and thus to carry out his promise to his father's Ghost:

"And thy commandment all alone shall live
Within the book and volume of my brain,
Unmix'd with baser matter."

The Spirit's injunction of vengeance is not merely 'mixed with the baser matter' of thoughts about the rottenness of the human character, but is entirely absorbed by it.

The fact that this sense of the knavery of man and of frailty of woman gains the uppermost place in his mind and rages stronger than his spirit of vengeance on his uncle, is proved by the circumstance that while we should naturally expect that Hamlet's first act after the Ghost's injunction would be a mad rush upon his uncle, we find it instead to be a hurried entry into Ophelia's closet to scan her face, presumably to find out if she was really honest; and he does this not for anything that Ophelia had done but because Hamlet's dominant thought now was that all women were frail and all men were knaves.

There are ample indications in the rest of the play that go to show that there was some lack of heat in Hamlet's spirit of revenge against his uncle. In his soliloquy at the end of Act II, we find him engaged in a pathetic attempt to warm himself

up, with the valour of words, into an act of vengeance. He shouts out :

"Remorseless, treacherous, lecherous, kindless, villain !

○ vengeance !

Why, what an ass am I ! This is most brave,

That I, the son of a dear father murder'd,

Prompted to my revenge by heaven and hell,

Must, like a whore, unpack my heart with words,

And fall a-cursing, like a very drab,

A scullion !

Fie upon't ! foh ! About, my brain ! "

Now this is nothing but the stimulus-hunting of a stimulus-less revenge. This soliloquy ends with a random plan to have a play in which he would "catch the conscience of the king," coupled with an assurance to himself :—

"I'll tent him to the quick : if he but blench,
I know my course."

This raises great expectations, but they are soon disappointed. We next find Hamlet in Act III, Scene i speaking his famous soliloquy, "To be, or not to be," which shows that his ruling passion even now was not that of vengeance, but the idea of "parting with his life"; and the question with him was not how to be avenged and how to retaliate, but whether "to be" or "not to be." His next action is his admonition to Ophelia, "Get thee to a nunnery : why wouldst thou be a breeder of sinners ? " and this shows how the thought of the depravity of human character continued to be the strongest idea in his mind and pushed his thoughts of personal vengeance into the background. We next find him engaged in giving elaborate directions to the Players as to how they should perform their parts, and the keen enthusiasm which he shows with regard to the manner in which the play should be acted,

proves that he was having the play not so much as a device for testing the King as a diversion for himself. And what do we find him doing after the performance? The King does more than merely 'blench'; he rushes away in the middle of the play like 'a guilty thing surprised': and yet Hamlet does not 'know his course!' He is now perfectly assured of his uncle's guilt, and tells Horatio

"O, good Horatio, I'll take the ghost's word for a thousand pound," and exclaims:

"Now could I drink hot blood,
And do such bitter business as the day
Would quake to look on."

But does he justify this statement by his action? Shakespeare places him immediately after in a touchstone-like situation that brings out completely the coldness of his passion of revenge. He finds the King alone and unprotected but refrains from killing him on the flimsiest of pleas, namely, that the King was then at his prayers, and by killing him then he might send him to heaven. If his passion of revenge had had its natural heat and strength, he would have sent him away from this earth, heedless of the flight of his soul to heaven or to hell. We next find him killing Polonius; but this was quite an inadvertent act, and not the result of a deliberate pursuit of revenge on his uncle. When he had made a pass through the arras, the frightened Queen exclaimed, "O me, what hast thou done?" and Hamlet replied,

"Nay, I know not,
Is it the King?"

This shows that the blow had been given carelessly to the prying eavesdropper, whoever he might be, and was not a planned attack aimed at Claudius.

We next find his father's Ghost appearing again "to whet

his almost blunted purpose." Hamlet does not tell the Ghost that he had been watching for an opportunity, or that he had just aimed a blow which had accidentally missed or anything of this kind in defence of his delay, but freely confesses his dilatoriness even before the Ghost speaks, and asks

- "Do you not come your tardy son to chide,
That, lapsed in time and passion, lets go by
The important acting of your dread command?"

The Ghost replies,

- "Do not forget: this visitation
Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose."

But what is the effect of this second injunction of his father's Ghost? Absolutely nothing; for he continues to neglect his task as before, and allows himself to be sent away to England without a word of protest. When he comes back with documentary evidence in his possession, sufficient to prove his uncle's guilt to the hilt, he asks Horatio, "Is't not perfect conscience to quit him with this arm?" as if it was his conscience that had stood in the way so long. Now, in fact this is the first time that we hear of any conscientious scruple as an obstacle in his path. But he yet seems to shrink from action, and acquiesces in the King's proposal to engage him in a fencing contest with Laertes. If his revenge had any spur in it, would he think of risking his life in this manner, when his great task yet remained unaccomplished? And when at last he does kill his enemy, he seems to do it more by chance and from the impulse of the moment than in pursuit of any fixed purpose of revenge.

The entire career of Hamlet is thus a record of his "dull revenge" and "blunted purpose"; and I would trace this to a circumstance, that I have referred to before, namely, that initial chilling of his passion of personal vengeance by a numbing sense of depravity of human nature, and the resulting feeling of

the futility of the task of revenge, which he interpreted as the impossible feat of curing a degenerate world. The spirit of personal revenge, having been thus cooled at its very inception, could never work itself up into that passionate fury which is necessary for a speedy action of murder; and this accounts for that lack of heat and grim resolve in his pursuit of revenge which we have just traced through the events of the play.

But this original cooling of Hamlet's passion of personal revenge which impeded the accomplishment of his task, had happened unconsciously; and this is why Hamlet again and again indulges in self-accusations for his delay, and fails to account for it. But an event of which Hamlet himself is unconscious has not been necessarily left obscure for us. When Hamlet declared after receiving the shock, "I have of late—but wherefore I know not—lost all my mirth"—we could perceive what Hamlet did not know, namely, that it was due to the cruel disillusionment of his idealistic mind at its first serious contact with reality. Here too, when Hamlet from time to time, accuses himself of delay and wonders why he did not proceed to immediate revenge although he had "cause and will and strength and means to do it," we understand clearly what Hamlet himself fails to grasp, namely, that his inclination and stimulus towards the deed had been dulled by his own mind. So far as Hamlet himself is concerned, the thing had taken place unconsciously; and in the subsequent scene he betrays its effect; but, being unconscious of the fact that his spirit of vengeance had been chilled by himself at its very birth, fruitlessly tries, now and again, to whip his almost still-born revenge into life. The dramatic interest of these scenes lies in their exhibiting a keen conflict between Hamlet's deep-seated, though unconscious, conviction of the futility of his task and his natural human passion of revenge. It is a contest between Hamlet, the unconscious philosopher and Hamlet, the natural man; and in this conflict it is the philosopher that wins: for, as we have seen already, Hamlet again and again finds pretexts of several kinds.

to put off the task which has little meaning or stimulus for him.

Now, if we analyse this cause to which I would attribute the 'delay' of Hamlet, we find it to be the result of a subtle interaction of the character of Hamlet and the incidents of the play. If Hamlet had not had his peculiarly idealistic mind with almost a quixotic conception of the nobility of human character, his mother's fall and his uncle's crime would not have given him so staggering a 'shock,' killing his entire faith in human nature; nor would Hamlet have interpreted the simple task of avenging a murdered father as one of setting right a whole world 'out of joint,' if he had not had that peculiar kind of impersonal outlook on men and things which I have indicated before. Again, it is only because there was a fateful correspondence between the nature of the 'shock' as he felt it and the character of the "task" as he interpreted it,—the one convincing him that human nature was rotten and incurable, and the other calling upon him to cure it—that his mind is overpowered by a chilling sense of the futility of his task. Shakespeare has thus placed the origin of the delay in a delicate fusion of the incidents of the play and the character of its hero; and has thereby saved for the piece an essential element of dramatic interest, namely, the inter-dependence and interaction of character and incident.

Shakespeare has also safeguarded the dramatic interest of the piece by presenting its hero as an independent moral agent all through the play. His plot required him to represent the 'shock' as having a stunning effect on Hamlet; but his unerring dramatic instinct told him that if he presented the shock as dazing Hamlet into complete inaction, his delay in prosecuting his task of revenge would appear to follow as a matter of course, and would have little dramatic interest about it. He therefore endowed the 'delay' with an exquisite dramatic interest by so circumscribing the effect of the shock as to make it leave Hamlet a free agent. Without impairing his general intellectual

vigour or physical strength, it simply induces in him a disinclination, but does not cause an incapacity, to proceed to immediate action with regard to his task of vengeance on his uncle. The crux of the mystery about Hamlet's delay lies in this : that Hamlet acts and yet does not act ; and that he has a short and absolute way of doing things in other matters but delays in avenging his murdered father. His decisions are remarkably quick and his actions equally prompt in respect of his transactions with Ophelia, with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, and with Laertes. The 'delay' therefore could not be adequately explained by referring it merely to the 'shock.' Professor Bradley perhaps recognised this; and while he adopted the "psychic shock" theory, he supplemented it by attributing to Hamlet "a temperamental melancholy inevitably adverse to any kind of *decided* action." He seems to have allowed Hamlet after the shock a capacity for *impulsive* deeds, but denied him the power of *decided* action. Even if we admit for argument's sake that the several acts that Hamlet does after the shock were all impulsive acts, and the task of vengeance on Claudius was the only decided act he attempted after the shock, we cannot accept Professor Bradley's theory of a constitutional melancholy paralyzing Hamlet's capacity for decided action : for we do not find in the play any trace or mention of any such constitutional melancholy ; rather, as we have seen before, constitutionally Hamlet had a mirthful temperament. Indeed in the face of the facts of the play, it is not possible to formulate any such general theory, however modified, denying Hamlet the power of action. In the view that I have advanced, the 'shock' has been given a share in bringing about the delay, but has not been represented as the sole cause of it, which has been traced to a combination of various elements of character and incident. It has been shown that this unholy combination did not impair Hamlet's general faculty of action, but dulled his active energy only in the prosecution of this one particular task. This view

reconciles the apparent inconsistencies in Hamlet's conduct when he acts and yet does not act; and at the same time it preserves the character-interest of Hamlet by leaving him a free agent with full capacity to proceed to immediate revenge, if he had been so inclined.

Again, Shakespeare has not impaired the dramatic interest of the play by so conceiving his hero as to present in him a study in the abnormal. Hamlet is doubtless an exceptional character; but the peculiarities attributed to him by the poet are not such as to cast him out of the pale of normal humanity. It may be said that Hamlet's conclusion that the entire human character was rotten merely from the action of ~~his mother~~ and of his uncle, was illogical and erroneous; that it was hasty generalisation based on insufficient data. It may also be said that it was something extremely fantastic to expand the task of avenging a murdered father into a righting of the whole world. But we should not forget that Shakespeare did not intend to present Hamlet as an embodiment of human perfection, and conceived him as a tragic hero. He has therefore attributed to him, as he did to all his tragic heroes, a perilous imperfection, a fatal one-sidedness in one particular aspect of his character. The abnormalities that are imputed to Hamlet are all the outcome of his excessive idealism which is presented by Shakespeare as the root of the entire tragedy. It leads Hamlet to a blunder which entails disastrous consequences, causing eight deaths where one would have sufficed. All the tragic heroes of Shakespeare are exceptional persons with some impulse or passion carried to inordinate lengths; and Hamlet with his excessive idealism regarding human nature is no more abnormal than Macbeth with his "vaulting ambition, which o'erleaps itself and falls on the other," or Brutus with his speculative politics, entirely misplaced in the world of affairs.

Shakespeare has invested his Hamlet with a high tragic interest by so conceiving him as to make his fate in the play

produce on us a pathetic impression of 'waste'; and this is a characteristic feature of Shakespearean tragedy. The idealism and impersonal outlook that Hamlet had by constitution had glorious possibilities; but the untoward circumstances, that confronted him at the very threshold of life, completely crushed them all. His original conception of human character may have been wrong, his generalisations may have been illogical, and his expansion of the scope of his task fantastic; but the mere fact that he was accustomed, even as a young man, to think of human character in its entirety, of the interest of the world as a whole, shows that he possessed a large heart and had a wide and comprehensive mental outlook. The thought-element in Hamlet had nothing morbid or unhealthy about it. He did not suffer from any "thought-sickness" such as the Coleridge-Schlegel theory of his delay would attribute to him. If excessive thoughtfulness had really been a constitutional handicap on his faculty of action, as this theory would maintain, Hamlet would have merely speculated, without proceeding to action, in all his affairs in the play. The fact is that Hamlet delayed in executing his task of revenge, not because his thought was 'sick,' but because his nature was too rich to be as readily narrowed down into a vendetta as that of the unthinking Laertes. Under more auspicious conditions, Hamlet's great faith in his fellow-men and his habit of looking at things from the point of view of the interest of the world as a whole, would have led to glorious results. This is the feeling that the fate of Hamlet inspires in us; and we are touched with a great sense of 'waste.'

We thus find that Shakespeare's *Hamlet* contained in it nothing that could detract from its value as a work of art and combines the essential features of an effective tragic drama. The apparent mystery in the piece, the seemingly unaccountable delay of Hamlet in accomplishing his task of vengeance, has been adequately explained, and it has been explained, in such a manner as to establish a perfect balance between the

character of the hero and the incidents of the play. Its root has been cast into the character of the hero and the incidents of the play welded together, and every important factor in these two elements of the action has been given a part in occasioning it.

VII.

To sum up I have indicated that the proposition "Shakespeare's *Hamlet* is a Problem" virtually declares the play to be an artistic failure. As this is in direct conflict with our imaginative impression of the play as a highly successful work of art, I have attempted to find out an explanation of the action of the piece which would not contradict but would corroborate our æsthetic impression of the drama. I have tried to show that the theories that are usually advanced, either hold that the play cannot be explained from within; or else that the inexplicable delay of Hamlet is to be traced to an insurmountable difficulty in the task itself, or a paralyzing morbidity in Hamlet, constitutional or acquired within the play. The view that is offered here is that the delay *has* been adequately explained within the play, that Hamlet has *not* been coerced into inaction, either by his constitution or the situation in which he is placed, and that his delay is entirely the outcome of an unconscious dulling of his spirit of revenge by the interpretation put by his own mind upon the events through which he passed and upon the task he was called upon to perform. I have attempted to prove that at no stage does Hamlet suffer from "engine-trouble," so to say, at the nerve-centre; that Shakespeare has saved the character-interest of his hero by making him delay but retain throughout the option to act otherwise and representing his conduct as the result of a free, personal choice.

I have, in short, tried to prove that Shakespeare's *Hamlet* is not a medical thesis, but a work of art; and that the general

æsthetic impression of the play as a great work of dramatic art is supported and confirmed by a critical analysis of it.

I would, therefore, suggest that there is no unexplained mystery or insoluble riddle in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, and that there is no reason to give up the play in despair as a *problem*.

PRAPHULLAKUMAR GUHA

FLOWERS

Day brought its sorrow and the Night its pain,
And Earth fresh Beauty with the passing hour :
Like hidden glories lurking in the rain
Which yield their tribute to Light's magic power,
I knew Me through a veil of tears again,
And saw my mind unfolding like a flower.

My heart first thrilled to rapture with the breeze,
At Sun and Moon and Night's cool, starry dower ;
But soon Life's little things roused ecstasies—
A child with folded hands in Faith's white tower,
A smiling face, pure eyes, the praying trees :
These sound my heart unfolding like a flower.

Yet through loud, laughing joys the spirit slept,
Unconscious of the heavens' gracious dower ;
Careless of him who watched, or him who wept
While Laughter filled the measure of the hour :
Like summer rain a down the sky Grief crept,
And bared my soul, unfolding like a flower.

SANKARA KRISHNA CHETTUR

THE DATE OF THE KAUTILIYA ARTHASASTRA

Relying on the traditional account given in the Purāṇas that Kauṭilya destroyed the Nandas and installed Chandragupta Maurya on their throne, and accepting the statement made at the colophon of the Arthaśāstra by its author that "This Śāstra has been made by him who from intolerance (of misrule) quickly rescued the scriptures and the science of weapons and the earth which had passed to the Nanda king," the work has been assigned by some scholars to the 4th century B. C., and regarded as a genuine work of Kauṭilya himself. Recently, however, Dr. J. Jolly, Dr. R. Schmidt, and Prof. Winternitz came forward with what, in the absence of reliable evidence to the contrary, appear to be weighty reasons for assigning a later date to the Arthaśāstra. The reasons put forward by them as summarised in the Introduction to the edition of Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra in the Panjab Sanskrit Series are :

(1) As the date of the importation of the Kāmandakīya Nītisāra into the island of Bali is not definitely determined, mere priority of the Arthaśāstra to the Nītisāra is not enough to settle the date of the former.

(2) The striking correspondences between the Arthaśāstra and the Smṛitis, especially the Smṛiti of Yājñavalkya may as well be taken to lead to the inference that Kauṭilya turned the metrical rules of the Dharmasāstra into prose.

(3) References to Greek Astrology and Greek Coins found in the Smṛitis of Yājñavalkya and Nārada may be later interpolations.

(4) As the date of the Kāmasūtra may be fixed to lie somewhere in the 4th century A.D., the Arthaśāstra may be taken a century earlier and placed somewhere in the middle of the 3rd century A.D.

As regards the authorship of the Arthaśāstra, it might, say the editors, be questioned whether the prime minister of

Sandrakottos is not a figure of pure mythology, as he is not mentioned in the Greek reports and as Hemachandra relates very marvellous stories about him.

Even granting that Kautilya was a historic figure his asserted authorship of the Arthasāstra is rendered highly improbable for the following reasons :

(1) Reference to alchemy, a science of later growth.

(2) The use of the words Śulba and Surangā in the sense of copper and mine.

(3) The political and economic institutions and social conditions described in the Arthasāstra are of a far more advanced and complicated type than those recorded or alluded to by Megasthenes about 300 B.C. and Asoka inscriptions.

The description of metallurgy and industries in a developed state, the state-monopoly of metals, and the use of writing, are such as are not mentioned by Megasthenes.

The differences between the accounts furnished by the Arthasāstra and by Megasthenes overweigh by far the coincidences both in number and importance.

(4) The numerous references to the opinions of Kautilya in the body of the work lead to the inference that it is not the work of Kautilya himself.

(5) The Geographical knowledge of the author tends to prove that he was rather a southerner than northerner.

(6) Considering the unity of plan and structure of the work, it may be taken as the work of a single person, probably a Pandit, as presumed by Professor Winternitz for the reason that it is filled with pedantic classifications and puerile distinctions like all the sastras composed by Pandits.

(7) The absence of any reference in the work to Chandragupta, his capital Pāṭaliputra, and his ambassador, Megasthenes points to the conclusion that the author was not a contemporary of the king.

(8) The silence of Patañjali about Kautilya and his work, though he had occasion to refer to Chandragupta-sabhā

and the Mauryas is also taken as an additional proof to disprove the priority of the Arthasāstra to the Mahābhāshya.

A close consideration of these and other reasons set forth by the learned scholars will show that instead of establishing a later date to the Arthasāstra they tend to involve it in considerable doubt. As nothing is positively known regarding the date of Kāmandaka, the first reason may be left out of consideration.

The second reason fares no better, as there is no positive evidence to prove or disprove that Yājñavalkya versified the rules of Kauṭilya. The third is one of the most important reasons and it will be shown how the dates of the Arthasāstra and the Smritis of Yājñavalkya and Nārada can be determined on the basis of the currency system of their times beyond dispute. The question of interpolation in the absence of a positive evidence to prove it is a matter of personal opinion.

Regarding the age of the Kāmasūtra there is no evidence to disprove that it was written about the commencement of the Andhra empire.

As no celebrated Indian writer or reformer of antiquity has escaped from the fate of being represented in a supernatural garb, there is no reason why Kauṭilya should be classed among mythic personages while Pāṇini, Patañjali and a host of other writers and reformers whose lives are described in no less supernatural terms pass for historical figures. There are no accepted data to assert that alchemy, metallurgy, and industries as described in the Arthasāstra are the phenomena of the 3rd century A.D. and not of the 4th century B.C.

As regards the difference between the accounts furnished by Kauṭilya and Megasthenes, it should be borne in mind that the work of Megasthenes is not a translation of the Arthasāstra. Even now no two travellers and Indian civilians agree in their views on the social, economic and religious conditions of modern India, and far less of ancient India. The problem

of personal equation is ever insoluble in these matters. Megasthenes must have necessarily viewed India with Greek spectacles and could hardly be expected to have derived his information from Kautilya himself. Whether the author was a southerner and changed his home to the north and whether he was a Pandit or statesman are points which have nothing to do with the question at issue. Had there been a specimen of the style of writing of Kautilya or of a statesman, this objection would have had some bearing on the question at issue. There does not appear any logical necessity to compel either the author of the Arthasāstra to mention the names of Chandragupta, his capital and his companions or the author of the Mahābhāṣya to speak of the Arthasāstra and its author, much less of the Buddha and Aśoka.

As to the question of Kautilya speaking of his own opinion in the third person, it is an ancient custom with Indian writers to speak of themselves in the third person in their literary works. Even Patanjali has followed this custom. While commenting on Pāṇini's sūtra, VII, 2, 101, he mentions his view by stating "Gonardīya āha," "Gonardīya says."

Again while commenting on the introductory verse of the Paribhāṣendusekhara in which Nāgeśa, the author of the work has used his own name in the third person, Bhairavamiśra says in defence of the custom as follows :

"The prohibition that no one should use one's own name in speaking of oneself or of one's own view is not applicable here; for that prohibition is applicable only to those cases in which a person attempts to speak of himself by using the name given to him by his father." Here Nāgeśa like Gonardīya used in the expression "Gonardīya āha" is a Yogarudha word and not a name given by his father.

That Gonardīya is a name of Patanjali, the author of the Mahābhāṣya, is clearly stated by Nāgeśa in his Śabdendusekhara under the Sūtra, VI, 1, 94, explained in the Siddhāntakaumudi. Again Hari Pandita in his commentary called

Vākyaarthachandrika on the Paribhāshenduśekhara says while commenting on the introductory verse, as follows :

“ In connection with the use of one's own name, respectable writers say that it is no sin to use one's own name in the third person in connection with the statement of one's own view following the example set by Patañjali who has used the expression ‘Gonardīya āha’ in stating his view.”

Having pointed out how untenable are the above data to prove either a later or an earlier date to the Arthasāstra, I may now proceed to deal with the positive evidence which goes to establish the earlier traditional date to it beyond dispute. It is the system of currency described in the 19th chapter of the 2nd Adhikaraṇa of Arthasāstra. It is as follows :

10 seeds of Māsha (<i>Phaseolus Radiatus</i>)	...	1 Suvarṇa Māsha
or 5 seeds of Gunja (<i>Abrus precatorius</i>)	...	1 Suvarṇa Māsha
16 Suvarṇa Māshas	...	1 Suvarṇa or Karsha
4 Karshas	...	1 Pala
88 White mustard seeds	...	1 Silver Māsha
16 Silver Māshas or 20 Saibya seeds	...	1 Dharaṇa.

The names of the several coins are also stated in II. 12 of the same work. As Pāṇini has also mentioned the names of these coins, Kārshāpaṇa in V. 1, 29 ; Paṇa, Pāda, Māsha (V. 1, 34), it follows that this system of currency was current during the time of Pāṇini and continued to do so during the reign of Chandragupta till it was replaced by Dīnāra and its subdivisions sometime before Patañjali. That during the time of Patañjali, Dīnāra and its subdivisions were prevalent is evident from the Smṛitis of Kātyāyana (Vararuchi?) quoted in the Smṛitichandrikā (Vyavahāra Kānda, Part I, p. 231). This system is stated as follows :

4 Kākaṇis	...	1 Māsha or Paṇa
20 Māshas	...	1 Kārshāpaṇa
4 Kārshāpaṇas	...	1 Dhanaka
12 Dhanakas	...	1 Suvarṇa
3 Suvarṇas	...	1 Dīnāra.

In the passages quoted from Kātyāyana it is also stated that this system of currency was in use in the Panjab. It is well known to historians that the word Dīnāra is the same as Denarius, the name of a Greek Coin (264 B.C.). It goes without saying that the introduction of Denarius and its subdivisions into the North-West provinces of India was due to the Bactrian principalities established to the west of the Indus after the departure of Alexander the Great from India. That during the time of Patanjali the currency system of 16 Māshas forming a Pana or Kārshāpana was not in existence, is clearly stated in the Mahābhāṣya (I. 2, 3). While commenting on I. 2, 62, he says as follows :

“Vyasthesu sāmānātsiddham, Vibhinnarthesu cha sāmānyātsiddham. Sarvatra aśnoterakṣhāḥ pādāḥ mimīteḥ māśhah tatra kriyasāmānyātsiddham. Aparastvāḥ purā kalpa ētadāśīt shodāsa māśhah kārshāpanam shodasa palāḥ māśhasamvadyah. Tatra sankhyā-sāmānyātsiddham.”

“The retention of only one word in a compound of many similar words differing in meaning is made possible by finding some idea common to all the different meanings. The word aksha is derived from the root ‘aś’ to pervade ; pāda from pad to move ; māsha from mā to measure. Here (in the several ideas or objects signified by each of the words, aksha, pāda, and māsha) what is common is the root-meaning. But another (teacher) says :.

It was in times past that sixteen Māshas made one Kārshāpana, and sixteen palas one māśhasamvadya. Here what is common in different meanings is to be found in number.”—What is meant in the above passage is this :

It is a rule (I. 2, 64) of Pāṇini that in forming a compound of many words which have the same form in all the numbers of any single case-ending, only one word is to be retained, whether the words mean the same or different things. Example :—Vrikshaḥ, + vrikshah + vrikshah = vrikshāḥ. Rāmah (son of Daśaratha) + Rāmah (son of Vasudeva) + Rāmah (son of Jamadagni) = Rāmāḥ.

Since it is possible to use a word in plural when many similar things are meant, Patanjali came to the conclusion that the rule was unnecessary. But the difficulty lay in the case of words of different meaning, though of the same form, as in the case of aksha, pāda, and māsha, each meaning coins of different standard. Here, too, taking the root meaning of the words, it is possible, says Patañjali, to find something that is common to all different ideas signified by the words similar in form. Instead of finding what is common to different ideas in the root meaning, another teacher went so far as the number to find some identity in the conception, particularly in the case of the word Māsha. Formerly a Kārshāpana meant 16 Māshas; but in the time of the teacher it meant something else (*i.e.*, 20 Māshas). Even here it is number that is common to both. Hence there is identity in meaning.

It is clear from this that the Arthasāstra is a work of the age when a Māsha = $\frac{1}{16}$ of a Kārshāpana was current and that during the time of Patanjali, a Māsha did not mean one-sixteenth of a Kārshāpana but something else. What was the other thing it meant is probably $\frac{1}{20}$ th of a Kārshāpana, as stated in the Kātyāyana-Smṛiti. Whatever might be the other sense in which that word was used in the time of the Mahābhāṣya, one thing is certain that long before Patañjali and the other grammarian referred to by him a Māsha = $\frac{1}{16}$ th of a Kārshāpana as stated in the Arthasāstra ceased to be current. It follows, therefore, that the Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya, describing as it does the prevalence of the Kārshāpana of sixteen Māshas, must necessarily have been in existence before Patañjali; for the Arthasāstra is a lifelike picture of commercial history of the times to which it belongs, but is not like the Smṛitis devoted to the description of the currency of the Vedic times merely in consideration of its sanctity. Even the Smṛiti-writers could not be free from the influence which the commercial condition of their time had exerted on them. Hence it is that they are found to

make use of the Dīnāra and its sub-divisions in their rituals, instead of the Vedic Śatamāna, Śalka, Harita, and Nishka. They could not help it since the Vedic currency was long extinct. Such being the case how can it be expected that the Arthasāstra would refer to currency of bygone ages without any attention to that of its own times. If it had been written in the third or the fourth century A. D. it would certainly have related the currency system of the Śakas, Āndhras or the Guptas, and never at all that referred to in the Sūtras of Pāṇini. Hence it follows that the Arthasāstra is a work of the Maurya period, and particularly, as tradition says, of the time of Chandragupta Maurya. The name of Chandragupta or of any other person, however celebrated he might be, has no logical connection with a literary work meant to be of universal application. It is a painful truth that Indian writers cared more for logic than for history.

R. SHAMA SASTRY

INDIA'S CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

The prosperity of any country must of necessity depend to a large extent upon its chemical industry. When one considers that practically every productive system is in some way reliant upon one or more branches of chemical supply, such an apparent truth as this seems too elementary for exposition; yet surely, as a truth, it is all too little appreciated. Indeed, the difficulty of tracing all the ramifications of a chemical industry — the difficulty of measuring the extent of its overlap into manufacturing processes that seem independent of it — is a task too colossal for serious intention. Nor is it quite necessary, except, perhaps, to impress the student, and even here figures would suffice: figures of the order, for instance, of a certain random selection of two hundred and fifty trades and professions, two hundred and thirty-seven of which relied upon some branch of chemical technology for their well-being.

It is hardly surprising, then, that eminent industrialists should speak of a country's production of sulphuric acid as being the gauge of its prosperity, because as the chemical industry is to a nation, so is the production of sulphuric acid to the chemical industry.

Regarding the matter from India's standpoint, it is astonishing what issues are at stake in the production of this mineral acid. The textile industry, one of India's most successful enterprises, uses it in large quantities; it is used, too, in the manufacture of other chemicals, glass, fertilizers, and a thousand and one substances and articles, each having its own place in the lists of merchandise. Surely a product of extreme importance.

What is India's position with regard to this vital acid? In the first place, there has been the fifteen per cent. *ad valorem* import duty hanging as a millstone about the neck of the merchant who would bring to the factories an adequate

supply. Granted, the Tariff Board has recommended the abolition of this duty, but not before much harm has been done. It has been the constant complaint during the last three years that this duty would seriously affect supplies, a complaint justified in every respect by results. To add to the irony of the situation, vast supplies of gypsum containing about twenty per cent. of sulphur are soon to be exploited, and if this venture is successful very little sulphur need be taken into the country.

In the second place, there are no more than eleven factories in the whole of India, one of which is in the Madras Presidency, the remainder being divided between Bengal and Bombay. Between them, these factories produce about 15,000 tons a year—a total quite inadequate to meet the huge demand of a country that, apart from other considerations, is constantly being handicapped by a shortage of fertilizers.

And, in the third place, it seems impossible to induce merchants to place sulphuric acid on the open market. Such is the effect of the import duty that they dare not trade in this acid unless a market is more or less assured; otherwise there would result a serious locking up of capital which might place in jeopardy the progress of more stable—although, perhaps, less remunerative—products.

One does not need to delve much more deeply for the reason of the existing depression in this industry; at the same time, the situation is certainly not alarming. In view of the difficulties which must be encountered and negotiated—placing them, in effect, in the scale with contemporary progress—the future is full of good prospects. India, with her vast natural resources still awaiting more and more human intelligence and initiative to exploit them, is a country that has progressed well in the past and is even ready to expand her industries. Such a country is not to be put under by the temporary setbacks which must be endured by nearly every nation under the sun.

Glancing through the new tariff valuations, which took effect from the 1st January last, one will note with regret that the Chamber of Commerce to the Government of India has not done much to stimulate the chemical industry's prosperity. In fact, it seems possible that the industry generally is considered as being good for a safe fifteen per cent. on all products imported—a policy that is hardly consistent with the industry's recent representations. Of the fifty-six articles named, fifty-two are dutiable to the full fifteen per cent., one is dutiable to seven and a half per cent., two to two and a half per cent., and only one (categorized as "fertilizers, all sorts") is duty-free.

Deliberating upon the question of a protective policy like that shown by the Tariff Board, one cannot help feeling that a mistake has been made. Protective policies at the best have usually proved to be dangerous. In this case, where it is difficult to find one branch of chemical manufacture whose supplies of raw materials are sufficient, it seems to be entirely superfluous. Perhaps but one branch of the industry has supplies which meet the demand, and that branch is opium. Here some effort has been made to steady the rush, a general Government Notification (number 5634) having prohibited imports "by land into British India from any country situate on the land frontier of India."

One branch of an industry does not very materially affect the whole, unless the product concerned be a staple one that has an overlap into other branches. Consequently, the prosperity of the opium-growing branch has not eased the tightness elsewhere.

The multitudinous complications which have arisen because of the import duty and the protective policy—vigorously upheld in some quarters, vigorously condemned in others, as such policies usually are—do not seem to account for the none too prosperous state of the oilseed-growing branch during the latter half of 1924. In reports at regular intervals rendered by the author to London, a sudden decline was particularly noticeable

during November and December. Comparison with the figures of previous years showed a decrease in business that was, for the moment, somewhat alarming. Weather conditions were responsible to some degree; nevertheless this does not seem a satisfactory excuse for the irregularity of supplies. The position was so unfavourable at one time that export prices on the Calcutta market became almost purely nominal. An allied branch of the industry, that engaged in the growing of nuxvomica, was also affected.

Inquiries in Calcutta and elsewhere proved fruitless, owing to the extraordinary diversity of reasons given. But whatever the main reason, merchants became so doubtful of their sources of supply that they refused offers of advance orders, and the inevitable falling off of exports followed. In one district it was labour trouble, in another abnormal weather conditions, but in most a shortage of stocks owing to the heavy inroads made during the three months previously.

The oilseed growers are not in difficulties now, however. During the latter end of January, orders were being secured for March; at the end of February, orders were being secured for April-May; and for the first two weeks of March, options have been taken on stocks as far forward as June-July, while May-June business has been described as extremely brisk. The bad period that came so suddenly and without warning passed as it came, leaving few after-effects beyond a lesson in the folly of over-eagerness to relinquish stocks without making some provision for future demand.

Whatever may be the various predisposing causes of an industry's progress, economic or otherwise, the members of that industry do not give sufficient credit to research. Research to an industry is like an engine to a factory: it is the prime cause of that industry's rate of production, and the more efficient the research, the more efficient the trade it makes possible. Like the engine, which exploits oil or coal as an industry exploits capital, it is the foundation of effective motive power.

Who could give sufficient credit to those Universities and Institutes of India that have done so much? The value of research cannot be more inestimable than in the infinite by-paths of applied chemistry, a subject of which the average industrialist knows far too little. He has left the higher technicalities to the specialist: perhaps a commendable course.

In a copy of *Nature* dated 2nd August, 1924, Dr. Morris W. Travers described the foundation of the Science Institute at Bangalore. He dealt with the early history of the Institute, and his article is written in much the same spirit that pervades the present research chemist in his perpetual struggle against the unknown. For that reason alone it is worth reading. Dr. Travers, ranking with Sir P. C. Ray, is owed much by the industry for which he has worked so successfully.

Even at the moment of writing, Professor Gilbert J. Fowler, D.Sc., F.I.C., of the Indian Institute of Science is giving his attention to the questions of growing and production. There are the lac manufactures, acetone separation by bacteria, seed expression of *Mahua* oil, and other studies to be found in the annals. Would it be possible, taking this one research organisation alone, to estimate the indebtedness of India's chemical industry to Professor Fowler and his earnest co-workers, Messrs. Gupta, Venugopalām, Subrahmanam, Dinanath, and those others who have devoted their lives so earnestly to the making of science a commercial proposition?

JOHN MISSENDEN

PEPPER-CORNS

I

Loveless gift, tasteless food
Never come to any good.

II

Shouldst thou do another good
And let some other know
Surely he is quits with thee,—
A debt to him thou 'lt owe.

III

If another does thee good
And thou in joy it tell,
Kindred good will troop to thee
By love-lived mystic spell.

IV

I cast upon Thee all that's mine
Make me Thine, O Lord!
Confine me not in net of doubt,
Break—break my captive cord!

V

Now look within, from heart confess
Thine is not the power to give.
Claim not as thine, what is not thine,
Die; then, in flesh in spirit to live.
Die in body, live in Soul,
All this at thy feet will roll.

VI

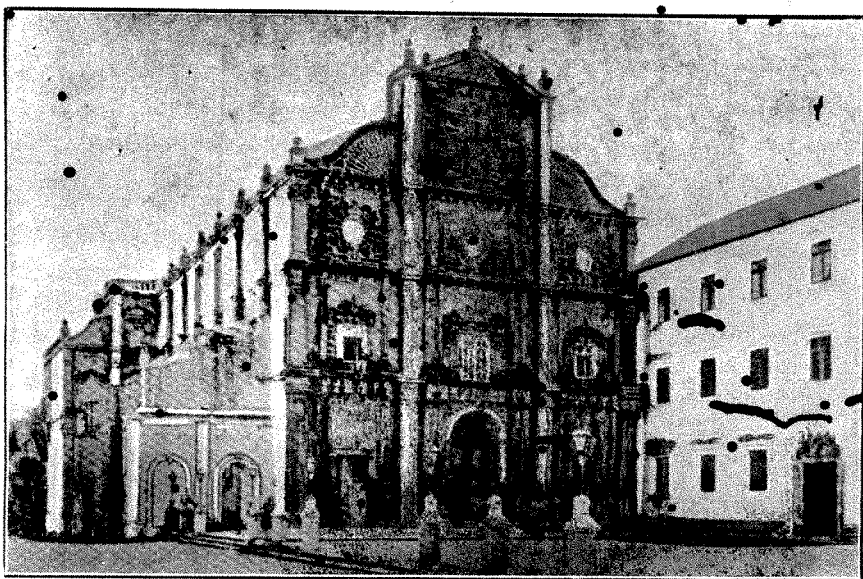
Lay before Him troubles that come,
Confess His justice, true and sure,
Bless Him for His mercy-balm
And find thy heart by suffering pure.

VII

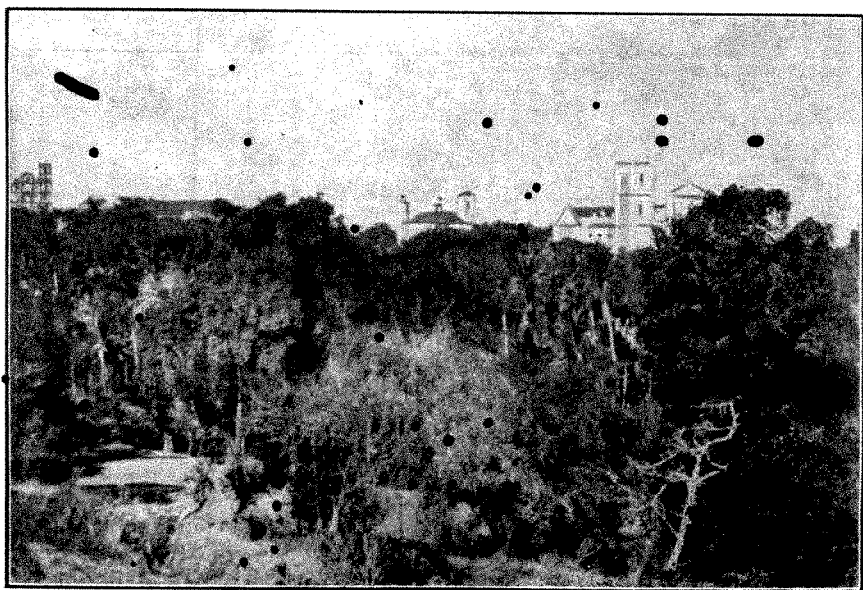
Thy hand for help, thy heart for God.
I kiss the dust thy feet have trod.—*From Bengali.*

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

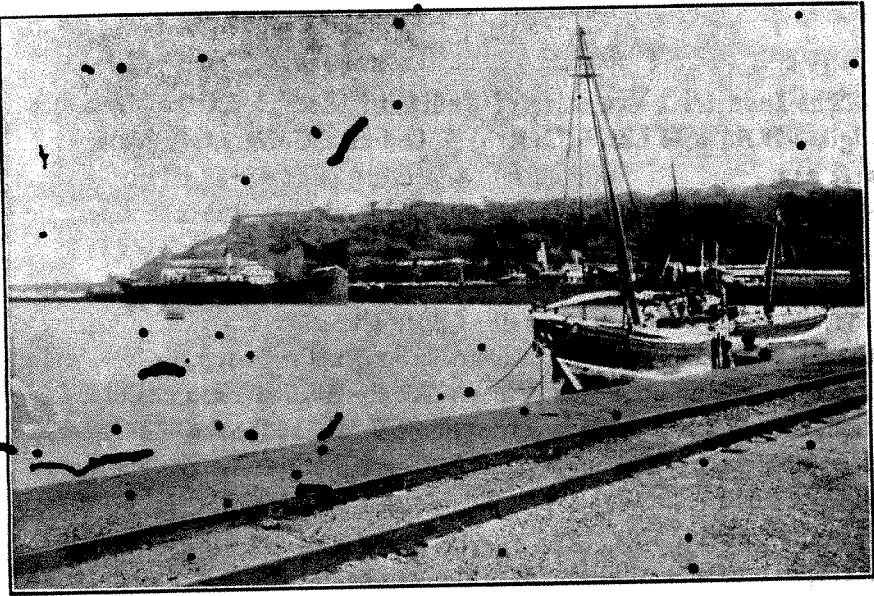
GOA



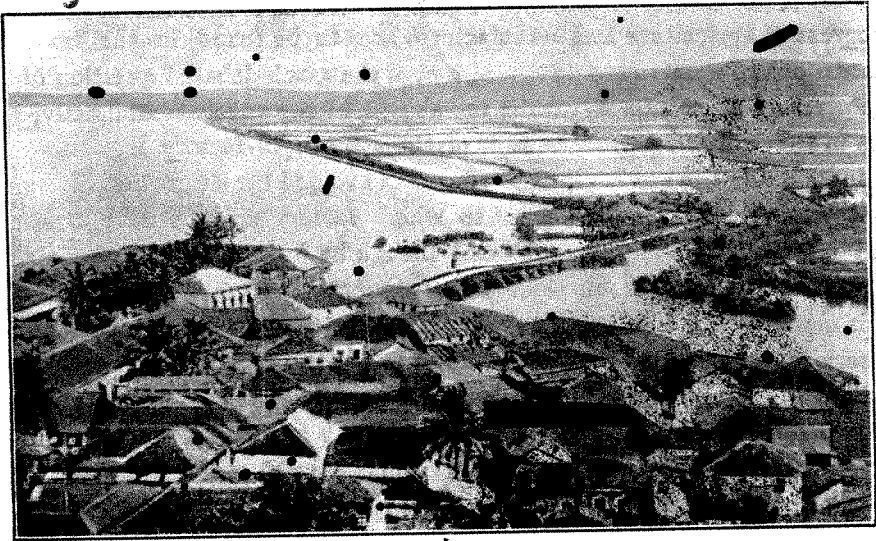
An Ancient Church at Old Goa



Ancient Goa, where the Kadambas ruled



Marmugao Harbour



Pangim, the New Capital

Reviews

The Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times, by D. R. Gadgil, B.A., M.Litt. (Cantab). Oxford University Press, pp. xix & 242.

The book under review traces in broad outlines the characteristic features of agricultural and industrial transition in India during the long and eventful period 1860-1914. The subject taken up by Mr. Gadgil is one which has in the past received little attention from investigators in the field of Indian economic history though the materials available on the topic are by no means scanty. All the available sources of information, the official blue books, the non official handbooks, monographs and pamphlets, have been laid under contribution by our author to produce a small volume at once readable and useful.

In the domain of agriculture he notes what he describes as the process of commercialisation, the gradual transference of lands from the hands of the original cultivators to a new body of proprietors for the most part moneylenders and lastly the tendency towards excessive subdivision of holdings the bane of Indian agriculture. In the domain of industry the outstanding features to which the author refers are the decline of the handicrafts and the progress of the two textile industries and one plantation industry. Closely interwoven with the narrative of the progress of agriculture and manufactures are to be found in the book discussions of numerous side issues, *e.g.*, of the much-debated question of the pressure of population on the Indian soil, of the governmental activities in the field of agriculture and of the genesis of factory legislation in India. On the last topic the author has avoided the discussion of the controversy regarding the extent to which factory reforms have been due in India to pressure from abroad though he had sufficient materials at his disposal to enable him to pronounce a verdict on the issue. This omission however in no way detracts from the value of the book as a serious contribution to the literature on the economic history of India.

Finally, attention may be drawn to two misprints. On p. xvii (Bibliography) "Morland" and "Morrison" should read "Moreland" and "Morison" respectively.

J. P. NIYOGI

India, America and World-Brotherhood—by J. T. Sunderland, M.A., D.D. (Ganesh ; Madras).

Ganesh & Co. of Madras are now producing books which in their externals can compare with the best publications any land in the world can produce. This book is a sample of what we can produce now-a-days in India in the way of printing and binding.

A fair body also needs a fair soul and the soul of this book is as fair as its outside. The book falls into three parts—the first part deals with American leaders of liberty, the second describes the struggle at present going on in India for her freedom and the third deals with World-Brotherhood. They are all connected intimately one with the other. Both America and India have to bear their share in the World-Brotherhood that is to come. The outlook is the sanest possible and none but an exceedingly shallow and narrow-minded dogmatist would dispute the conclusions drawn.

The whole book is a sort of prophecy of the future Brotherhood of Man which is coming as surely as to-morrow's sun is rising. But before it comes Asia must be free, and before Asia is free, India—the very heart of Asia—must be free. There is no doubt whatever about the future. The struggle is going on all around us and no power on earth can stop the plan of God. We may only pray that the struggle be brief and attended with the least possible pain to the least number of people.

The "printer's devil" has played sad havoc in one or two places. The date of the War of Greek Independence is given as 1864 in one place, and this is the most serious error of printing in the book. We hope this will be corrected in future editions.

A book to read and to keep as a valued possession—such is my deliberate opinion.

POST-GRADUATE.

"Currency and Exchange in India," by Brijgopal Bhatnagar, M.A. F.S.S., Lecturer in Economics, University of Allahabad—1924; price Rs. 2, pp. 140.

Currency and Exchange are the greatest economic problems of our day. The author presents a rapid and brief though not a comprehensive study of the historical development of the Indian Currency system. He says that the Indian point of view is the gold standard with gold currency and criticises it as wholly undesirable. It is true that, besides Prof. Wadia and Joshi of Bombay whom he mentions, Sir James Begbie, Sir V. D. Thackersey, M. D. P. Webb, Sarkar, Kale, Doraiswami, and Alakh Dhari are also votaries of the gold standard accompanied with gold currency. But there are two other able exponents Sir D. E. Wacha and Mr. S. K. Sarma who do not vote for this ideal. Even the late Mr. Gokhale was very diffident while encouraging gold coining. Hence it is entirely erroneous to think that all thinkers advocate the gold standard with gold currency. The writer of this review recommended an extension of the bank note currency backed by gold.

The author recommends the policy of resuscitating the G. E. standard system as a tentative measure to pave the way towards the ideal system (*i.e.*) gold standard with gold in the bank reserves and bank paper convertible either in gold or in paper according to the option of the holder.

He recommends the 1s. 6d. (gold) rate as the future exchange value of the Rupee but he advocates the wait-and-see policy for a little time longer before enforcing this rate. This we know to be the finance minister's opinion though perhaps he would recommend 1s. 6d. (sterling) rate. More vigorous and trenchant criticism could have been levelled against the keeping of the Indian Reserves in London and their management by the Secretary of State always in the interests of the London Money Market. He does not realise that the chief stumbling block in an effective settlement of the currency and exchange problems is the question of the Home charges. As Sir D. E. Wacha remarked "the disease is not currency at all but the Home charges."

Another omission is that there is no reference to minor remedies to the currency and exchange situation of the country such as (a) increased issue of nickel coinage, (b) greater facility for encashing notes, (c) permission to certain banks to issue notes, (d) changes in the method of purchasing silver. These deserve some attention and ought to have attracted the notice of the author.

Bimetallism is pronounced with double "tt" and Babington with double "bb."

Śrī Maṃmaṭācārya kṛta Kāvyaṃprakāśa (Part I). This is a Gujarātī translation of the famous Sanskrit work on Rhetoric and Poetics. It is published by the Gujarat Vidyāpīṭha of Ahmedābad which owes its inspiration to Gandhiji. The translators are Rām-nārāyaṇ Viśvanāth Pāṭhak and Rasiklāl Chotālāl Parikh and the first part comprises *Ullāsas*, I-IV. The original is admittedly one of the difficult works in Sanskrit which needs careful study and a very clear grasp of "the genius" of the Sanskrit language. There have been many commentaries (quite 70) written on this work and the translators have shown considerable discrimination in making use of all this material. One of their objects, they have pointed out in their preface, has been the avoidance of mere pedantry. Then again they have also tried to give illustrative examples more suited to the spirit of the modern age. So that this work is not a mere translation but something more. In a work of this sort the language must unavoidably be more or less technical and more or less the same technical terms must be used as are found in the original. So that the reading of this "translation" is as hard in places as in the original itself. Still this can hardly be called a shortcoming. The work has been done extremely creditably on the whole. The illustrative instances from Sanskrit have been rendered into faultless Gujarātī verse in the same metre, re-echoing in many cases the very lilt and rhythm (as for example, verse 4 on p. 7) of the original. This proves the great literary ability of the translators and their mastery of both the languages. The footnotes are carefully thought out and are given so as really to elucidate the difficulties.

I. J. S. T.

Rats and How to Destroy Them, by Mark Hovell, F.R.C.S., with an Introduction by S. L. Bensūsan, with fifty-one illustrations. John Bale, Sons and Danielsson, Ltd., Oxford Street, London.—price 10s-6d net; 11s-8d inland, 12s abroad. Demy 8vo cloth, pp. xlii-465.

In a land of rats and other vermin, we are of necessity all rat-catchers. The importance of rats in the dissemination of disease, and as pests of produce, needs no comment, and Dr. Hovell's book will indeed be

'Indispensable to everyone.' A candid reviewer must agree with the publishers that "it is the most complete and reliable work on rat destruction ever printed."

Dr. Hovell's book raises the act of catching a rat to a pursuit which requires careful study, and a *dilettante* in this art will be surprised (as I was) at his own exceeding ignorance of rats and the methods of destroying them. In 453 pages the author covers every aspect of rat-destruction, shows us how inefficient our present-day methods are and deals with the destruction of rats in all sorts and conditions of places. He has added chapters on cockroaches and sparrows, but the reviewer as a biologist has found most interest in the chapter so modestly entitled "Some Notes on Plague."

A detailed review of the book would be inappropriate here, but we hope it will receive the treatment it merits in the proper circles. It will suffice to mention that the weekly loss through rats to Great Britain alone is about one million pounds sterling, apart from the menace of an epidemic of plague as a constant probability. In India, with its vast areas and unscientific methods, where conditions are so much more favourable to rat-life, an estimate of this country's annual loss would rival the National Debt in noughts.

Dr. Hovell and his publishers are to be congratulated for a work which will, we believe, earn universal recognition. In India it ought to provide a stimulating draught for the quiescent powers in their Himalayan home.

C. D.

Three books of verses :

Immortality and other Verses, by B. G. Steinhoff (The C. W. Daniel Co., London).

The Death of Akbar and other Poems, by R. Gordon Canning (Arthur L. Humphreys, London).

To the Ocean—to Greece—a Poem, by Clifford King (Drane's, London).

All three are small volumes for the leisure hour.

The first named is a nice little collection of small poems and occasional pieces. The writer has been an official in India and so one finds familiar scenes. "Sympathy" is a fine piece and "Lilies and Sparrows" is a gem in its way. The three poems called "Like and Unlike" have a clear moral for mankind and prove that a mere wheel in the official machinery can also have a human heart. A dip into this little volume when one has some time to spare were not amiss.

"The Death of Akbar" is a fine attempt to picture the Great Ruler. The last days of the great man are drawn with considerable power. How he rises superior to all creeds and earthly dogmas has been nicely shown. His last words of advice to his son are "Be tolerant." The other poems are but five in number but they are of fine quality. "The Slum Boy's Dream" touches some very tender chords in our hearts.

The author of the last, Clifford King, has already received high praise from critics for his earlier works. He has been compared with every notable poet from Shakespeare to Swinburne. And in the present work he maintains his reputation to the full. The picture of the author fully bears out the "Phrenological Delineation" of him given at the end of the book. The poem is in very fine style, faultless metre, and is teeming with learned allusions. It certainly shows the vast stores at the writer's command, but the average reader should have at hand some work or works of reference so that he may fully appreciate the poem.

BOOKWORM

The Ashrama Ideal and The Bedrock of Education, by G. S. Arundale (both from the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras).

G. S. Arundale needs no introduction in India. He has been one of the pioneers of national education in this land. In those days (so far off now!) a quarter of a century ago Mrs. Besant and a few devoted friends started the Central Hindu College in Benares. That was a time when "nationalism" was emphatically not in fashion as it is now. The ideals that inspired the founders of the C. H. C. were the ideals of Ancient India. They hoped to base the future of India on her past and in spite of ridicule, in spite of suspicion from friend and foe alike,

these workers went steadily forward. Soon after the foundation of the C. H. C. a number of servers (Indian in spirit, but born and bred in the West) came forward eager to help. Among these was the writer of these two works mentioned above, George S. Arundale, then a young man full of life and vigour fresh from Cambridge. Hundreds of young men have passed through his hands and have been the better and the nobler for the inspiration he gave them. I remember the first glimpse I had of him in Benares in the company of College boys walking along the road chatting freely with them as a brother among brothers. And this is the outstanding characteristic of the man and of his work—a *brother among brothers*. As the years have passed this attitude has become more and more emphasised. As he himself once expressed it, "the best reward of service is opportunity for greater service." This reward has come to him. And the keynote to both the works under review is SERVICE.

The Ashrama Ideal is a small pamphlet (worth only 3 as.) embodying a lecture delivered by the author of the *Brahmavidyāshrama*, Adyar. The Ancient Ideal of the Brahmachāri, as given by Manu—service, study, simplicity, self-control—is held forth and explained. These Ideals are eternal but in every age they must be reinterpreted in terms of the conditions then existing. This is what is done in this little pamphlet. And quite characteristically the Brahmachāri stage is to be "as preparation for the service of the world."

The Bedrock of Education is a collection of five essays which should attract the most earnest attention of all who have the welfare of the young at heart. To give an idea of the book a few quotations may be given here with the earnest hope that all interested in education may be tempted to read it:

"Education is Life, and Life is Education."

"Service is the background of education and its objective, and represents the Love activity aspect of God."

"I would lay stress upon the spirit of supernaturalism. Education must cease to be jingo, narrow."

"Let TRUTH, not opinions, nor written words, nor traditions, nor conventions, nor customs, dominate our schools from the very outset."

"The parent, like the teacher, is mainly the ambassador from the soul to the body."

This is a book every teacher should read, meditate upon and inwardly digest. G. S. Arundale has done very great service to the world

by this book, and we hope he will find his reward—opportunities for greater service.

I. J. S. T.

The *New Outlook*, edited and published by Mrs. M. Heynes-Wood, B.A., and Mr. Cedric Dover, Annual subscription Rs. 4, Single Copy As. 6, pages 24; 8/1, King's Chambers, 40. Meleod Street, Calcutta.

We offer a cordial welcome to this new monthly "which combines the qualities of a review with the character of a magazine." It is only an introductory number and the Editors assure us that additional features will be added in future issues. The Editors are fortunate enough in securing contributions from eminent scholars and if all the gentlemen who, we understand, have promised to help the *Outlook* we are sure the new-born babe will have a healthy growth. "While touching on the main political problems of the day, Anglo-Indian and otherwise," the Editors "will leave all party politics" to the contemporaries in Bengal. The get-up and printing are good.

ESKARE.

Messrs. T. Nelson & Sons, Ltd., are to be congratulated on their renewing the publication of cheap edition (Shilling 1-6d per volume) of the masterpieces of English literature. The binding is good and the types are distinct. The works of Shakespeare in six volumes are specially welcome. We are sure, lovers of Shakespeare will not fail to buy a set as the volumes are quite handy and decent.

ESKARE.

THE UNION NEW

- I -

On flow'ry green,—
 In lovely grove
 Sits Radha lone, her Krishna far;
 The heart rebels
 At Nature's bloom:
 "Alas!" she sighs: her spirits jar.

She leaves the bow'r,
 She flings her robe,
 She gazes far and scans the sky:
 The sky, perchance,
 Her Lord beholds,
 While *she* is left to tear and sigh!

Soon, floating clouds
 Come dense and black:
 They spread and gloom the heav'ns above;
 Dark dread and doubt
 O'erwhelm her quite:
 She broods,—and brooding mourns her Love.

2

When thick'ning night...
 Enwraps the world
 And myriad stars have vanish'd all;
 In stillness of
 Her darken'd heart,
 She trembling feels her Krishna's call!

"Anon, the morn!"

The cheerless sky!

She rends her breast, and shakes the night:

When Radha tears

Her heart; and looks

For Krishna's vision,—true and bright!

And *now!* Her storm

Is o'er. She feels

In very core her Krishna dear:

With soul in bliss

She wond'ring stares;

She never knew,—*He was so near!*

3

Still hark! O hark,—

The clouds of night

The thunder vain for light of day:

But in her dark

Recess of soul

Doth Radha hail her Krishna gay.

To her the clash

Of night now rings

The cymbals of her nuptial fare:

Her lightless vault

Of heart hath made

Her long'd for bridal bed with care!

While all is dark

Within, about,

Her Spirit deep, as Krishna's hue,

"Ah, me!" she smiles

In fond delight,

And droops her brow in union new!

SURES C. GHATAK

HINDU POLITY and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's

Researches

Interest in the constitutional history of ancient India has of late been very keen, judging by the number of recent publications relating to the subject. The latest treatise comes from the pen of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and can certainly be described as a performance arresting attention. It is entitled "Hindu Polity," published by Messrs. Butterworth, and can be had at the moderate price of ten rupees.

The book does not claim to be much more than a 'running commentary' on the author's own article on the same subject published in the *Modern Review* for 1913. Mr. Jayaswal has created for himself a reputation among scholars interested in Indian antiquities; and some of his views have been cited with approval in the Oxford and the Cambridge Histories of India. At the Calcutta University, a few years ago, he delivered a series of entertaining lectures on Manu and Yājñavalkya. His writings prove that he possesses exuberant imagination; and his treatise on Hindu Polity should be read with the attention it deserves.

The style is simple, direct and, at times, elegant. There is no lack of footnotes,—that essential feature of erudite expression. The materials are managed with skill and confidence; and the lay reader will often feel as persuaded by his array of inferences as if he were to witness the feats of a conjurer. Ancient life is made to appear marvellously modern. For instance, we are gravely told (Part I, p. 188) that Śvetaketu, a *rshi* of the later Vedic period, went to the Madra people "for post-graduate studies in sacrifices"! The statement is a little inaccurate, for it was not Śvetaketu but his father who had occasion to visit Madra-land. But that does not matter. The language is effective. And that does matter.

There are, in the treatise, a number of valuable suggestions. His proposed identification of Mucukarna and Glaucukāyanaka of the *Kāśikā* with Mousikanos and Glausi or Glaukanikoi (Pt. I, pp. 75, 78) will strike many as clever and happy. The way in which he proves that republican communities extended citizenship to outsiders (Pt. I, p. 121) is really creditable. And his chapter on the Disappearance of Republics (Ch. XIX) is couched in most touching language. It will however be idle to pretend that the book is free from flaws; and a few of these flaws may be noted for the benefit of his readers. This is all the more necessary, because the book will be read by our University students.

Speaking of *dvairājya* or "rule of two" (Pt. I, pp. 96-7), the author asserts that 'such a constitution was possible only in a country where the juristic notion of the *Mitāksharā* family could develop into a practical principle' and that 'its working in India constituted a unique constitutional experiment and success.' This is very strange, coming from a writer on constitutional history who ought to be aware that at Sparta there actually was a *dvairājya*, as already rightly pointed out by Mr. Narayanchandra Banerji of the Calcutta University in the *Calcutta Review* for January, 1925 (pp. 35-6).

One would have expected Mr. Jayaswal to have read with care the *Manu-samhitā*. The disappointment therefore is great when we light upon the following statement (Pt. II, p. 126): "The *Mānava* Code does not specifically mention the *Purohita*. But he is very likely included in the 'seven or eight' Ministers of Manu." The Code, however, does 'specifically mention' the *Purohita* in verse 78, section VII (*purohitam ca kurvita*.....), and he is most definitely *not* included among the 'seven or eight' Ministers of Manu mentioned in verse 54 of the same section, as is clear from verse 60 (*anyān api prakurvita amātyān*.....).

Mr. J. devotes two entire chapters (Pt. II, pp. 60-108) towards proving for ancient India (600 B. C.-600 A. D.) an

actual "Hindu Diet" called *Paura-Jānapada*. The theory was broached in 1920 in the pages of the *Modern Review*; and I do not propose to discuss it here. I shall content myself with a reference to a little detail which will throw some light on the method pursued for establishing the thesis. We are told (Pt. II, pp. 81, 112) that, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa*, 2, verse 24), Daśaratha addresses the *Paura-Jānapadas* as "kings" (*rājānaḥ*). Anyone, however, who will care to look up the original text of the epic will find that the assembly addressed by Daśaratha included kings as well as the *Paura-jānapadas* (i.e., city-people and country-people). I shall cite the text from the Bombay edition (*Nirṇayasāgara Press*):—

*sa labdhamānair viñayāṇvitair nṛpaiḥ
purālayair jānapadais ca mānavaiḥ
upopaviṣṭair nṛpatir vṛto babhau
sahasracakṣur bhagavān ivāmaraiḥ.
tataḥ parisadaḥ sarvām āmantrya vasudhādhipaḥ
hitam uddharṣaṇam c-aivam uvāca prathitam vacaḥ,
rājalakṣaṇayuktena kāntenānupamena ca
uvāca rasayuktena svareṇa nṛpatir nṛpān."*

(*Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa*, Ch. I, v. 51 and Ch. II, v. 1, 3).

It is thus quite clear that Daśaratha had before him actual kings (*nṛpāḥ*) whom he very properly addressed as kings (*rājānaḥ*). And the explanation which we get here of *paura* as *purālaya mānava* ("man resident in city") should suffice to prick the bubble of Mr. Jayaswal's imagination.

Inaccurate renderings and incorrect citations form a most disappointing feature of the book. A few specimens may be given.

At p. 94, Pt. I, the following *Kauṭīliya* text is cited:

vairājyam tu jīvataḥ parasya ācchidya n-aitan mam-eti

manyamānaḥ karṣayaty apavāhayati; paṇyam vā karoti; viraktam vā parityajya apagacchatīti—

and the following rendering is offered :

'nobody feels in a *Vairājya* Government the feeling of "mine" (with regard to the State), the aim of political organism is rejected, anyone can sell away (the country), no one feels responsible, or one becoming indifferent leaves the State.'

At p. 84, Pt. II, the *Arthaśāstra* text :

sarvagunasampannaś cāyam rājā śrūyate na cāsyā kāścīd guṇo drśyate yaḥ paurajānapadān dāṇḍakarābhyāṃ pīḍayati

is translated as :

'We hear that the king is possessed of all necessary merits. But we do not see those merits, for the man is troubling the *Pauras* and *Jānapadas* (by demands for) army and taxes.'

The introduction of the phrase 'by demands for' within brackets, although manifestly without warrant in the text, eases the situation for Mr. Jayaswal's theory. For, is not *Paura-Jānapada* a Hindu Diet before which the king must submit his 'demands' for "army" and "taxes"? And his rendering of *dāṇḍa* by "army" instead of by "fines" in a text where the word is used in conjunction with *kara* or "taxes," although clearly wrong, stands his theory in good stead. What is more interesting still is the circumstance that Mr. Jayaswal himself, in this very book (Pt. II, pp. 178-9), translates *dāṇḍa* and *kara* as "fines" and "taxes" in connection with a passage where no vision of a *Paura-Jānapada* Hindu Diet stands in the way (...*karṣakebhyah karādānam dāṇḍebhyaś ca dāṇḍādānam*... = "...realization of taxes from cultivators and of fines from offenders..."). We should not be surprised if this correct rendering is, at the very same page (II, 179), succeeded by a glaringly impossible translation of another text from the *Vīramitrodaya*. The text there is fortunately accurately cited in a footnote; and the discerning reader will find

it easy to discover that the text asserts what it is represented to deny, namely, that the king is owner of the soil.

I should not tire out my readers' patience with further examples of our author's experiments at translation. But I must give a few instances of his misquotations.

At p. 40 (Pt. I), the *Mahābhārata* is alleged to have said that the Daśārṇas (Vṛṣṇis) were 'kingless,' and we are referred to verse 5, ch. 37 of the *Sabhāparvan*. I have looked up several editions of the text, including those claimed to have been used by Mr. Jayaswal (see under 'Abbreviations' at the end of his treatise); and I find that the reading is not *Daśārṇāḥ* (plural) but *Dāsārṇa* (singular) which, we know, is an epithet of Kṛṣṇa, not to be confounded with the designation of a people or clan.

At p. 51 (Pt. I), footnote 4, Mr. Jayaswal professes to cite a Pāli text from Fausboll's edition of the *Jātakas*, Vol. I, p. 504:

*tattha niccakālaṃ rajjaṃ kāretvā vasaṃtānaṃ yeva rājūnaṃ
sattasahassāni sattasatāni satta ca (.) rājāno hoṃti tattakā;
yeva uparājāno tattakā, senāpatino tattakā, tattakā bhāṇḍagārikā.*

The underlined word (*tattakā*) does not find place in Fausboll's text as we know it; and its introduction here, together with the interposition of ingenious punctuation-marks, helps materially to alter the sense of the original passage. Thirty-four pages further on (p. 85), we come across a word from this identical Jātaka text figuring in an altered form; for the *ka* of *rājūka* there has no existence in the text.

We do not need to trudge on for more than fifteen pages before stumbling upon another product of creative imagination. At p. 100 (Pt. I), we are asked to believe that the following text occurs in Jacobi's edition of the *Āyāraṃgasuttam*:

Uggakulāni va Bhōjakulāni va rāinnakulāni va, ...

On looking up the edition what do we find? The text is given at p. 51; but it has *bhogakulāni*, not *Bhojakulāni*, and is

consequently useless for Mr. Jayaswal's purposes, without the alteration.

At p. 70 (Pt. II), we read: "In the *Rāmāyana* the *Paura-Jānapada* body is appealed to by Bharata when Rāma refuses to go back to Ayodhyā:—'What do you order his Highness?'" The reference is given, and the 'text' cited in footnote 2:

*āsinastveva Bharataḥ paurajānapadaṁ janam
uvāca sarvātaḥ preksya kimāryaṁ anuśāsatha—*

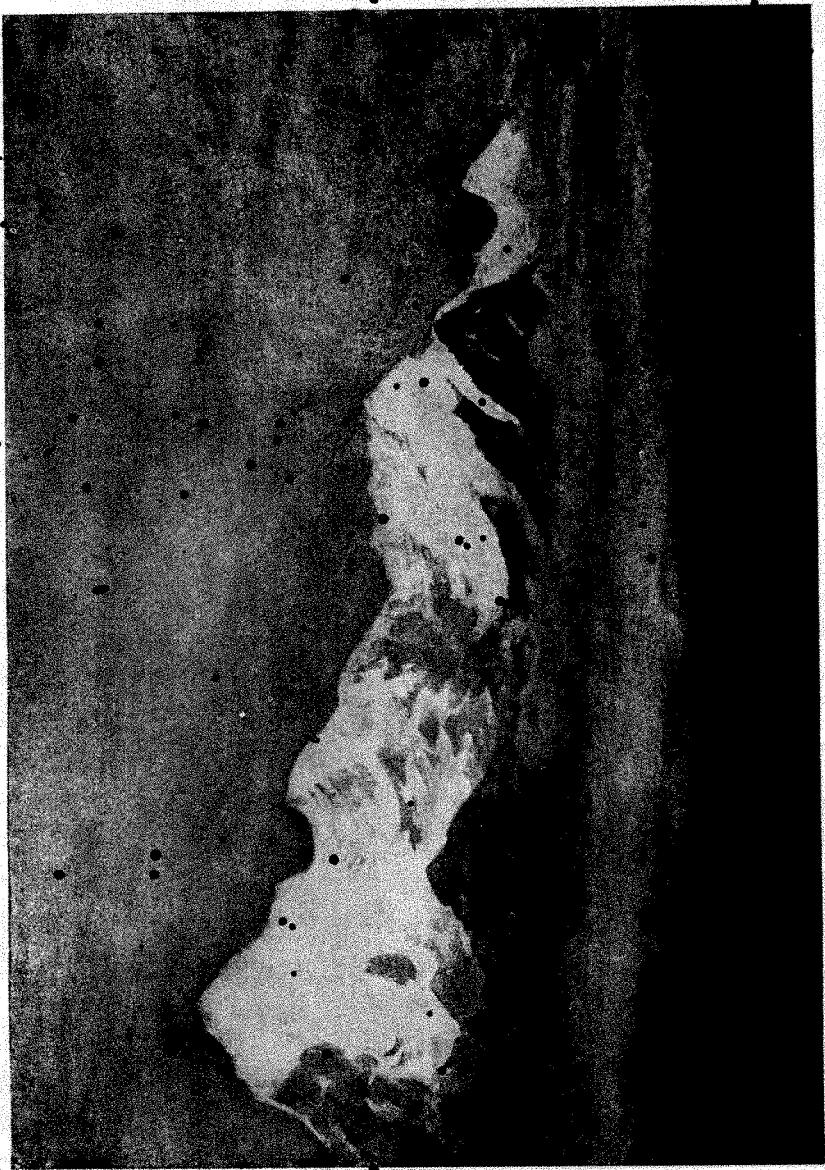
(*Rāmāyana*, *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa* c. III, v. 19.)
Being a little inquisitive, I have consulted the text in both the editions used by Mr. Jayaswal. The result is a revelation. Mr. Jayaswal has omitted a negative particle, just one simple *na*. Instead of his ...*kimāryaṁ anuśāsatha* we have to read...*kimāryaṁ nānuśāsatha*, if we do not care for the variant ...*kimartham nānuśāsatha*. That root *śās* with the prefix *anu* here need not bear the aggressive sense of 'order' but may have the milder meaning of 'persuade' or 'advise' will appear not only from lexicons but also from its use in the same speech of Bharata (verse 25):

na yāce pitaraṁ rājyaṁ nānuśāsāmi mātaram—

where, we may hope, Bharata will not be credited with exercising a "constitutional" right to "order" his own mother.

I have dwelt on these defects in the hope that such defects may be remedied in the second edition. Mr. Jayaswal has the gift of expression and the rare merit of initiating new enquiries. As it is, his book on Hindu Polity should be read—and re-read—with a certain amount of caution.

HARIT KRISHNA DEB



THE HIMALAYAN SNOWS

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DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

History begins with a study of the dead. This is true even of modern history. If we wish to write the history of a modern hero, we are not content to find out all we can about his parents, who may still be living; we seek to discover all that is possible about his grandparents as well. It is true of ancient history. It is true also of what has been described as the pre-historic period. This is in a sense a new discovery. It used to be thought that history began with the practice of keeping written records. Archaeological research has shown that history began long before man had invented an alphabet. It is possible, for instance, to say something about the parentage of the very earliest example of *homo sapiens*, for we can compare his skull with the skulls of other closely related creatures.

If we understand history in a wider sense—as the study of the activities not simply of heroes, kings, and others, but also and chiefly of the activities of mankind in general—the distinction between history and what used to be described as pre-history is even harder to make. There will, of course, in the matter of exactness be differences in degree. For while, psychologically regarded, no kind of history can be regarded as exact, a larger measure of inexactness, as Dr. W. H. Rivers says, must probably always be a feature of that kind of history

which has to be formulated without the aid of literary records. "This form of history must always be on broad lines and will fail to deal with the personal relations which give to the study of history so much of its interest and charm." At the same time, it may be noted that the general tendency of recent movements in history has been in this direction. "Every year more and more attention is being paid to the history of institutions and ideas, while the personal relations and details of the transactions between individuals and nations are coming to be of less interest in themselves, and are regarded as material by which broader and more general issues can be reached."¹

In order to learn something about the earliest history of man we dig in the ground on promising sites and explore caves. We come upon ancient encampments and burial-places, and discover not only bones and skeletons of men and animals, but also objects which men valued and put to various practical uses. In the more advanced stages we discover also the remains of man's earliest efforts at building.

What has been discovered in the earliest burials? In 1908 a skeleton was found in the lower grotto of Le Moustier, in the Vézère valley. "It belonged to a youth some sixteen years of age. The most interesting feature of the discovery was the manner in which the skeleton was laid out. The head rested on a number of flint fragments carefully piled together—a sort of stone pillow; the dead lay in a sleeping posture, with the head resting on the right forearm. An exceptionally fine *coup de poing* was close by the hand, and numerous charred and split bones of wild cattle (*Bos primigenius*) were placed around, indicative of a food offering."²

At the same time another skeleton, described as the finest of all the Neanderthaloid fossils, was discovered in a grotto near La Chapelle-aux-Saints, a few miles to the eastward

¹ W. H. R. Rivers, *History and Ethnology*, 1922, p. 28.

² H. F. Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age*, 3rd ed., 1921, pp. 221 f.

of Le Moustier. "This was also a ceremonial burial of an individual between fifty and fifty-five years of age, most carefully laid out in an east-and-west direction in a small, natural depression. With it were found typical Mousterian flints, also a number of shells and remains chiefly of the woolly rhinoceros, the horse, the reindeer, and the bison."¹

In the cave of Paviland, which opens on the face of a steep limestone cliff, about a mile east of Rhossilly, on the coast of Gower Wales, the earliest discovery of a member of the Crô-Magnon race was made. A painted skeleton, long known as the 'Red Lady,' was found in the kitchen midden which forms the floor of this cave. Recent investigation has proved that this skeleton belonged, not to a woman, but to a man.

"The most remarkable Crô-Magnon burials of undoubted Aurignacian age are those of the Grottes de Grimaldi; the infant skeletons found here are neither colored nor decorated, but occurred with a vast number of small perforated shells (*Nassa*), evidently forming a sort of burial mantle. Similarly, the female skeleton was enveloped in a bed of shells not perforated; the legs were extended, while the arms were stretched beside the body; there were a few pierced shells and a few bits of silex. One of the large male skeletons of the same grotto had the lower limbs extended, the upper limbs folded, and was decorated with a gorget and crown of perforated shells; the head rested on a block of red stone. In the 'man of Mentone,' found in 1872, the body rested on its left side, the limbs were slightly flexed, and the forearm was folded; heavy stones protected the body from disturbance; the head was decorated with a circle of perforated shells colored in red, and implements of various types were carefully placed on the forehead and chest. Similarly in the burial of Burma. Grande three skeletons were found

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 289 f.

placed side by side in a layer of red earth containing a large quantity of peroxide of iron; two of the skeletons rested on the left side, the limbs extended or slightly flexed; the forehead and chest and one of the limbs were encircled with shells."¹

Skeletons were discovered at Brünn, Moravia, in 1891 and a few years before. "One of the skeletons of Brünn, found at a depth of 12 feet below the surface of the 'loess,' was lavishly adorned with tooth-shells, perforated stone discs, and bone ornaments made from the ribs of the rhinoceros or the mammoth and from the teeth of the mammoth; associated with these was an ivory idol, apparently of a male figure, of which only the head, the torso and the left arm remain. The skeleton and many of the objects found with the sepulture were partly tinted in red."² An ivory figurine belongs to the Eburnéen stage of Piette and appears to indicate that the burial was of Aurignacian rather than of Solutrean age.³

A Magdalenian skeleton was discovered at Sorde, Landes, in 1872. Here the body was ornamented with a necklace and a girdle of the teeth of the lion and the bear, pierced and engraved. "Seven skulls found in 1883 in the grotto of

¹ *Op cit.*, p. 304. See also R. Verneau, *The Men of the Barma-Grande*, 1900, pp. 66 f. The practice of burial in red soil is still found among primitive folk. For example, among the Lango, J. H. Driberg writes: 'Males are buried on the right-hand side of the door of the house, females on the left. The graves are deep, as it is the rule that the dead should be buried in red clay, which in many places is only reached at a considerable depth; and the grave must be so orientated that the head of the deceased should be towards the sunrise.' (*The Lango: A Nilotic Tribe of Uganda*, 1923, pp. 165 f.)

² The practice of painting the bones red has been noted among the Zapotecan Indians of Mexico. Marshall H. Saville writes (*Putnam Anniversary Volume*, 1909, pp. 153 f.) "When an important person died, the body was dressed and placed in a stone chamber together with various personal ornaments and objects belonging to the deceased. Food and drink were placed in or near the tomb to sustain the deceased on his journey to the other world. Once a year for four years his friends came to the tomb and made fresh offerings of food and drink. At the expiration of this time the flesh had decayed. Sometimes the bones were then gathered and placed in niches, but otherwise they were allowed to remain on the floor. Often they were painted red."

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 307.

Placard, Charente, also belong to the Magdalenian. The skeleton discovered in 1894 in the grotto of Les Hôteaux, Ain, was buried at a depth of 6 feet beneath Magdalenian implements; the body resting on the back was covered with red ochre; the thigh-bones were inverted, indicating that the limbs had been dismembered before burial—a custom observed among certain savages.”¹

A new feature has been discovered in the great grotto of Placard, near Rochebertier, Charente—the separation of the head from the body. “The previous ceremonial burials, which began certainly among the Neanderthals in Mousterian times, always show the custom of burying the entire body; in the Upper Palaeolithic there commences the new custom of imbedding the body in ochre or red coloring matter, and this obtains from the Aurignacian burials of Grimaldi to the Azilian burial of Mas d’Azil. The flexing of the limbs occurs frequently in Upper Palaeolithic times. It would appear as if the new ceremonial of Placard had been introduced in the earliest Magdalenian times, for in the lowest Magdalenian layers four skulls were found closely crowded together, with the top of the cranium turned downward; of the other portions of the skeleton only a humerus and a femur were found.”²

In 1914 two Magdalenian skeletons were discovered at Obercassel, near Bonn. This, according to Dr. Osborn, is the first instance of complete human skeletons of Quaternary age being found in Germany. “As reported by Verworn, the skeletons lay little more than a yard apart; they were covered by great slabs of basalt, and lay in a deposit of loam deeply tinged with red. This red coloring matter, which extended completely over the skeletons and surrounding stones, indicates that it was a ceremonial burial similar to that practised by the Aurignacian Crô-Magnons. Along with the

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 376 f.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 379 f.

skeletons were found bones of animals and several specimens of finely carved bone, but no flint implements of any kind.”¹

At Ofnet, on a small tributary of the Danube north-west of Munich, was discovered an interment belonging to the period of Azilian-Tardenoisian industry. The interment is described as the most remarkable of all Palaeolithic times. “This is a ceremonial burial of thirty-three skulls of people belonging to two distinct races: respectively, brachycephalic and dolichocephalic, and certainly not related in any way to the Crô-Magnon race. In the group twenty-seven skulls were found embedded in ochre and arranged in a sort of nest, with the faces all looking westward. As the skulls in the centre were more closely pressed together and crushed than those on the outside, it seems probable that these skulls were added one by one from time to time, those on the outside being the most recent additions. It is noteworthy that most of these skulls are those of women and young children, there being only four adult male skulls. On this account some advance the theory of cannibalism; others that, being taken captive by a tribe of enemies, these unfortunate people were offered in sacrifice, in which case decapitation was the means of death. But, then, how explain the abundant ornaments of stag teeth and snail shells (*Helix nemoralis*) with which the skulls of the women and little children were decorated, and the treasured implements of flint with which all save one of the men and a few of the women and children were provided?”²

Sven Nilsson gives us interesting information about primitive burials in Scandinavia. Speaking of skeletons found in a tumulus at Stege, on the island of Möen, he writes

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 380.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 475 ff. In tombs found at Constantine, North Africa, and assigned by M. Bourguignat to a period at least 1000 years before the Christian era there were layers of innumerable snail-shells. See S. P. Oliver, ‘The Dolmen-mounds and Amorpholithic Monuments of Brittany’ in the *Quarterly Journal of Science*, January, 1872, p. 18.

as follows: "But that the bodies had originally been sitting in an upright position, we can see by the bones of each skeleton lying crosswise in a heap, on the top of which the skull was lying.....with each skeleton we find generally one or two, sometimes several, stone implements or wrought pieces of amber; the former are found amongst the male, and the latter most frequently amongst the female skeletons. Amongst some skeletons which were discovered sitting in a cell filled with sand, were amber beads still lying round the neck; these had, therefore, evidently been worn as ornaments ('Gotheb. Handl.', p. 93)."¹

A tumulus on the Åsa-hög, near Quistofta was opened in 1819, and in the sepulchre were found a number of flint implements and ornaments of amber. The sepulchral chamber was round, instead of oblong, which is unusual. Sven Nilsson writes: "Another remarkable circumstance which we notice in the description of this sepulchre is that an older series of corpses were interred therein, without any regard to order or regularity, forming a layer, which was covered by a bed of sand, forming a floor, upon which other corpses had in their turn been deposited. This mode of interring the dead has also been noted in the tumuli in West Göthland. This proves also that the same sepulchral chamber had been used as a sepulchre for a long period."² In Scania a gallery-tomb (Åsagrafven) was examined by the Rev. M. Bruzelius ('Iduna,' 1822, No. IX, p. 285). Here "besides stone implements, clay urns, and a number of amber ornaments, he found therein a vast quantity of human bones, divided into two layers by a bed of sand of about six inches in thickness."³

The use of sand in burials has been fairly common among various peoples. Speaking of a skeleton found in a burial-room in Pueblo Bonito, New Mexico, George H. Pepper

¹ *The Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia*, 3rd ed., 1868, pp. 128 f.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 161.

says: "The skeleton itself was resting on a layer of wood-ashes which had been spread on the levelled floor of yellow sand."¹

Again, he writes: "Owing to the havoc wrought by the inflow of water, the only preparations for burial that could be noted were those in connection with skeletons Nos. 13 and 14. In this instance the floor had been covered with a layer of yellow sand on which a layer of wood-ashes had been placed."²

Again, "the fact that so many bodies were placed in so small a room, and that they had been covered with sand as they were buried, presents a phase of intramural burials somewhat uncommon."

The earliest lake-dwellers, the inhabitants of pile-dwellings on the principal Alpine lakes, buried their dead on land, in earth graves or slab-lined cists. At quite an early stage the custom followed of burning the bodies and burying the ashes, "with such personal ornaments as endured the fire in a rough clay pot, closed with a saucer."⁴

In the trans-Carpathian region, the so-called Tripolje culture shows two main phases, the first of which seems to be purely neolithic. In both of these phases the dead were burned. Then after a fairly long existence the Tripolje culture ceases abruptly and uniformly. "Its sites were deserted and not reoccupied; and the cause of their evacuation is indicated by the occurrence, over the whole region of their distribution, of burial tumuli in a late phase of the neolithic culture ascribed by Russian observers to the 'kurgan-folk' or 'red-ochre-people,' who had long been in occupation of the central steppe, but seem to have been held aloof from the Tripolje along the course of the Dnieper."⁵

¹ *Putnam Anniversary Volume*, 1909, p. 223.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 248.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 249.

⁴ *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 1923, p. 73.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 81.

This practice of supplying the dead with a quantity of powdered red ochre was already in vogue among the later palaeolithic folk in west—and mid-European regions. "It is therefore of the first importance, that the same practice is habitual among the earliest inhabitants of the Eurasian steppe, a tall, heavy-built and long-headed race not very different from those western types, burying their dead in surface graves, and marking these with earth-mounds, the only possible monument in the tree-less and stoneless loess-land. These mounds (for which the local word is *kurgan*) do not seem to begin until the fine Solutrean technique had been lost, and their earliest contents are more roughly worked implements, and hemi-spherical pots of clay—durable substitutes for the simple bowls of gourd or leather, available to a prairie folk. As horse-bits, and later on, fragments of wooden cars on wheels, are found in these mounds, we must infer that the horse had been domesticated, and that we have here an early phase of the waggon-dwelling culture which still occupied this grassland when it was visited by Greek explorers later on."¹

In the lowland of South Portugal we meet "the custom of burying the dead, or at all events those of the more important families, in artificial chambers formed of upright blocks of untrimmed stone, and roofed with others, all as large as there was man-power to handle. Originally these were probably covered with a mound of earth, at least to the level of the cap-stone."²

The 'round-barrow folk,' whose cradle was in Bohemia, buried their dead in cist-graves which resembled the latest 'megalthic' tombs. These were covered by conspicuous earthen tumuli, circular like those of the steppe people, and not oval like the 'long barrows' of neolithic Britain.³

The gradual substitution of cremation for interment is

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 83 f

² *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 101 f.

exemplified by the 'Hallstatt culture.' Hallstatt, in central Europe, owes its name and its exceptional wealth to the great salt-beds among which it is situated. The Hallstatt culture not only dominated all the Upper Danube, but exercised widespread influence over middle Germany, over central and northern France, and over Britain and Ireland. Its characteristic swords travelled even further into Bosnia, Macedonia, Hungary, East Prussia, Posen, Hanover, Schleswig and Scandinavia and in later varieties into Spain and the British Isles. "It was in fact the first culture so general as to deserve the name of European....."¹ It spread about 900-800 B.C. At Hallstatt interment is first supplemented by partial cremation, as for example of the head, feet or abdomen. It is superseded only gradually by total incineration.²

In Ancient Egypt bodies were buried originally in the sand, and among the simple folk this simple form of burial survived. "The burial of the very poor of Egypt," says Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, "must have been much the same in all times and in all dynasties. The body, having been salted only, was laid in the sand to a depth of three or four feet, without ornament, and even without a coffin; sometimes even the salting was dispensed with."³ Budge observes that the drying up qualities of the sand of Egypt are very remarkable. G. Elliot Smith⁴ and J. H. Breasted dwell upon the same phenomenon. Breasted claims that nowhere else in the world have the natural conditions of soil and climate resulted in such a remarkable preservation of the human body. This phenomenon suffices to explain the fact that 'among no people ancient or modern has the idea of a life beyond the grave held so prominent a place as among the ancient Egyptians.'⁵

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 111.

³ *The Mummy* (2), 1894, pp. 815 f.

⁴ *The Ancient Egyptians*, 1923, pp. 31 f.

⁵ J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 49 f.

In the native sand of Egypt bodies were often so well preserved that they seemed in some way still to be living. This idea "impelled the Egyptians to lavish every care on the bodies of their dead, not only for their preservation by artificial means, but also for housing them in a manner befitting this religious conception of their importance, and surrounding them with all the paraphernalia needed for the attainment of a material resurrection."¹

More and more importance came to be attached to the careful preservation of the corpse. This led to the invention of coffins and to the making of a definite tomb, which was gradually enlarged. It was soon found, however, that an elaborate tomb had not the power of the native sand of Egypt to preserve the body. Even before the first Dynasty the Egyptians had to devise measures for the artificial preservation of the body. Thus arose the art of embalming. And the embalmer sought not only to preserve the actual tissues of the body with as little disturbance of its superficial appearance as possible, but also to preserve a living likeness of the deceased. "In the earliest known (Second Dynasty) examples of Egyptian attempts at mummification the corpse was swathed in a large series of bandages, which were moulded into shape to represent the form of the body. In a later (probably Fifth Dynasty) mummy, found in 1892 by Professor Flinders Petrie at Medum, the superficial bandages had been impregnated with a resinous paste, which while still plastic was moulded into the form of the body, special care being bestowed upon the modelling of the face and the organs of reproduction, so as to leave no room for doubt as to the identity and the sex."²

In a few cases the whole corpse or the head was covered with a layer of stucco plaster and moulded into life-like shape. In other cases, where resin or stucco plaster was not used, the

¹ G. Elliot Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

² G. Elliot Smith, *The Evolution of the Dragon*, 1919, p. 16.

linen-enveloped head was itself moulded and modelled. The eyes were painted on the linen. This manipulation of the wrapped mummy itself with a view to perpetuating a likeness of the deceased as well as to preserving the actual remains was the earlier practice. Another practice soon arose, that of making a life-size portrait statue of the dead man's head and of placing it by the side of the actual body in the burial chamber.¹ A further development was the making of a statue of the whole body. This was placed in a special hidden chamber which is usually described by the Arabic name *serdab*, but was known to the ancient Egyptians as the *pr-twt* or 'statue-house.' "It is important to remember," says Elliot Smith, "that even when the custom of making a statue of the deceased became fully established the original idea of restoring the form of the mummy itself or its wrappings was never abandoned. The attempts made in the XVIII, and XXI and XXII Dynasties to pack the body of the mummy itself and by artificial means give it a life-like appearance afford evidence of this. In the New Empire and in Roman times the wrapped mummy was sometimes modelled into the form of a statue. But throughout Egyptian history it was a not uncommon practice to provide a painted mask for the wrapped mummy, or in early Christian times supply a portrait of the deceased."²

It used to be thought that mummification was more or less peculiar to ancient Egypt. But the practice has been found to have been widespread, extending from Africa to America. Dr. Elliot Smith thinks that it was carried, or migrated together with a number of customs associated with it from Egypt. "In studying the easterly migration of the custom of mummification," he says, "it is quite certain that the main stream of the wanderers who carried the knowledge to the east must have set out from the East African coast,

¹ G. E. Elliot Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

because a whole series of modifications of the Egyptian method which were introduced in the Soudan and further south are also found in Indonesia, Polynesia and America. A curious feature of Egyptian embalming in the XIXth and especially the XXist Dynasties was the use of butter for packing the mummy. Among the Baganda, according to Roscoe, special importance came to be attached to this practice." In Indian literature there are references to bodies being embalmed skilfully with heavenly drugs and clarified butter (*ghee*).¹

In Mesopotamia in the prehistoric period the city Shuruppak on the old course of the Euphrates was of exceptional importance. Archaeological discoveries here have thrown light upon the period. "The oldest burials appear to have been made by wrapping the body in a reed-mat, the corpse being laid upon its right side with knees drawn forward and the right hand supporting the head. The left hand is placed near the face. The body thus interred is provided with jars of water and oil, head ornaments, cylinder-seals, copper mirrors, fish-hooks (?) and implements. This so-called embryonic position in burials is the rule with the Sumerian peoples from prehistoric times as it was in Egypt. More elaborate burials in clay coffins are found along with the mat burials."² At Surghul and et-Hibba, 30 miles north-east of Lagash, so many mat and kettle-shaped clay coffin burials were found that these places seemed like great cemeteries. At Ur, the famous city of the moon-god, in a mound at the centre of the city were uncovered many graves of the 'capsule' type, of inverted tub type, and fine vaulted brick tombs.³

The Sumerians chose a high place for burial, an old mound, if possible. The dead in nude state were collected in rows, head to foot, and covered with a mound of earth. This

¹ *Migrations of Peoples*, 1915, p. 68.

² Stephen H. Langdon, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, I, 1923, p. 377.

³ Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 381, 398.

was about 3000 B.C. "At the end of the third millennium (if the burials near the surface at Eridu are really late Sumeriad), the dead were buried without coffin and probably unwrapped, with a spouted pot for water placed near them, with one or two rough upturned bowls or goblets. This class of spouted pot was also found at Shuruppak; it is exactly the same as those represented on the old seals. With the advent of the Semites an alteration becomes gradually apparent. Koldeweg found at Babylon that the lowest levels of the time of the first Babylonian kings contained bodies lying simply in the earth, or rolled in reed mats, or roughly surrounded by mud bricks. The bodies were always laid out at full length."¹ Campbell Thompson found buried in the mound of Ur about a foot below the surface a body which seemed to be the skeleton of a girl. There was a silver-copper ring on each arm, as well as a nose-ring, possibly of silver. "The body had evidently been huddled up, the total length of the burial was less than two feet; it lay on its left side with the head pointing approximately to the east. Not far from the mouth was a water-pot, and upturned on or near the legs was a basin. There had been some cloth with it, and the whole, pots and all, had been wrapped in a reed mat. Cuneiform tablets were found at a depth of two feet in a 'throw-out' at a stone's throw distance, probably of the period of the III Dynasty of Ur, so that the presumption is that this mat burial was about the same period, and Koldeweg's mat burials at Babylon will coincide in date, or, not unlikely, may be earlier."²

It is interesting to note that mat-burial has been found among primitive folk in modern times. R. H. Codrington quotes an account of a burial among Melanesians supplied to him by a native. "The first thing after the death of a man of some rank, is to cut in the bush certain vines which are

¹ R. Campbell Thompson in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, I, 1923, p. 548.

² Campbell Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 548.

called corpse-binding vines. Then they bring together many mats (such as those which pass as money) to wrap the corpse in. Women bring out mats, such as are used for sleeping on, and spread them in open place in the middle of the village; and over these good clean mats. When these are ready, those who have been at work sit on the heap of mats and begin the wailing, so that people at a distance may know that the time has come to swathe the corpse. Then all having assembled by the heap of mats, men and women carry out corpse wrapped in a single mat from his house to the weeping crowd; and when they lay him on the mats spread as a bed the crying is wonderful, nothing can be heard at all but that. They put on his belt and his *malo* dress and smear him with red earth, and dress his hair with a cock's feather or pig's tails. His mother, or wives or sisters, throw ashes over their heads and backs. When they have swathed the corpse in mats and bound all round with the vines, some man of the dead man's kin sits upon the bundle, and is carried with it by many men to the grave, which has been dug by the side of the *gamal*."¹ Codrington tells of a very great man who was swathed in one hundred short mats and ten rolls of a hundred fathoms each. But for an ordinary man fifty mats would suffice.²

Mat-burial is probably only another form of skin-burial. Among the Lango, a Nilotic Tribe of Uganda, the corpse is carried to the grave in the sleeping-hide of the deceased person, and this is buried with him.³ Among the Baganda, who live on the north-western shore of Lake Victoria Nyanza the same kind of burial has been noted. "Among the common people the death of a person is made known at once and wailing begins; the body is washed and shaved clean of all hair on head and face, the nails are pared on hands and feet

¹ *The Melanesians*, 1891, pp. 280 f.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 284.

³ J. H. Driberg, *The Lango: A Nilotic Tribe of Uganda*, 1923, p. 167.

and both hair and nail parings are reserved for the grave. The legs are bent into the favorite position of squatting and the body is wrapped in a cowhide. The place of burial is the dung-heap in the cow kraal. These heaps are made by sweeping the kraal each day and throwing the sweepings to one side until a heap, often six feet high or more is made. This duty of sweeping the kraal is one of the few laborious duties that men belonging to the pastoral clans may perform without injury to the herds. In this heap the men dig a hole big enough to receive the body, and line it with cow skins for the body to rest upon. During the day the weapons and all milk vessels or water vessels used by the deceased are placed outside near the door of the hut in which the body lies. Before the funeral takes place both relatives and friends take leave of the dead, each person smearing a little butter on the forehead of the dead man, and wailing is carried on without cessation during the day. The relatives who carry the body to the grave there put it in a sitting position. From the time that the body leaves the house until the funeral rites are complete no sound of mourning is heard; but the lamentation begins after the burial and continues during the night. The widows have to be watched and guarded to prevent them from taking poison and dying at the grave."¹ Among the Bantus, the corpse of an elder circumcised Kikuyu fashion is buried in the hide of a slaughtered bullock.² The corpse of an elder circumcised Masai fashion is first laid on the hide on which the person was accustomed to sleep. Then an ox is slaughtered and the corpse is covered with the raw hide, the hair side being upwards.³ Among the Ila-speaking peoples of Northern Rhodesia, the corpse is placed in the pre-natal position and wrapped in a skin.⁴

¹ 'Worship of the Dead in Uganda,' in *Harvard African Studies*, I, 1917, p. 45.

² C. W. Hobley, *Bantu Beliefs and Magic*, 1922, p. 96.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 99 f.

⁴ E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, 1920, II, p. 104.

Other skins are laid at the bottom of the grave. It is the ambition of every man to set aside a number of fine large oxen to be killed at his funeral. These are called 'the wrapping-up cattle.'¹ The following account of a burial is interesting in various ways. "The corpse was put on three dry skins, and wrapped in a blanket. Then shells (*impende*) were put all over him—on the head, under the armpits, and on the back, then beads; bracelets for which there was no room on him were put in a basket, together with tobacco (for he would be in great trouble without it), pipes, mealies for seed, also Kaffir corn, millet, *mabele*, ground-nuts. He was then covered with four blankets given by his children and fresh ones for him were put in a box. Fat was put all over him and his pipe put into his mouth."²

The next later burials at Babylon resemble those found by Campbell Thompson at Tell el-Lahm. These are double-urn interments, being two pottery vessels placed together with mouths joined together. In burials of this kind at Tell el-Lahm were found pots and plates of plain wheel-turned ware. In Babylon there were found also a few subterranean chambers built of brick and with barrel-shaped vaulting. These seem to have resembled those found at Ur by J. E. Taylor. Campbell Thompson assigns these graves to the period early in the First Dynasty or a little before. "Similar double-urn burials were found at Nippur and assigned (by Peters) to Hammurabi's period, or rather before. So also at Telloh where the careful records of Gros show that these double-urn burials are subsequent to Bur-Sin, as he found a brick of that king below them."³

Campbell Thompson points out that the next class of interment is entirely different. "Koldewey found a different class of burials above the stratum in which these double-urns

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

³ Campbell, Thompson, *Op. cit.*, pp. 548 f.

were contained at 3 metres above his zero line, and he puts them at 'Nebuchadnezzar and earlier,' which, however, seems far too late. Peters, who found the same at Nippur, assigns them to 2000 B.C., and onward to the close of the Persian period. The coffin in this case is a clay sarcophagus rather like a small bath-tub, round at one end and square at the other, the length rarely more than a metre." Campbell Thompson found the same kind of burials in the same circumstances at Tell el-Lahm. He is inclined to assign the bath-tub burials to an earlier date than that of Koldewey. One discovered at Sippar was proved by documentary evidence to belong to the period of Hammurabi.¹

In Crete in the Early Minoan Age there seem to have been many different types of tombs. There were cist graves, terracotta coffins (*larnakes*), and large rectangular chamber tombs. "There is no sign of cremation and a noteworthy feature is the practice of using the tombs, whether rude rock shelters or elaborate stone-built *tholoi*, as ossuaries or charnel houses where whole villages or families continuously laid their dead over a long period of years."² In the Middle Minoan Age we come upon another method of burial (in addition to the earlier methods). It was a common practice to inter the dead in large jars. "The bodies were apparently trussed up and thrust head foremost into the jars which were then placed in the earth upside down, so that the deceased should always be head uppermost."³ This kind of burial, J. H. Driberg tells us, is still practised in Uganda. "When a twin dies he is not buried in the ground, but in a newly prepared clay jar (*agulu*). In the case of infants and small children the corpse is crushed into the jar, the limbs, if necessary, being broken; but in the case of a grown man a specially large jar is made, and his limbs are hewn off and he is inserted piecemeal. The lid is

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 549.

² A. J. B. Wace in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 1923, pp. 592 f.

³ Wace, *op. cit.*, pp. 596 f.

hermetically sealed with a mixture of clay and cowdung. A *peru* is built near the *otem*, as for the birth of twins, and under it the jar is set, while the two *tuk* (earth-nests of a species of termite) are placed on each side of the jar, the *tuk* and the jar being then profusely plastered with swamp mud. Not unusually an ant-hill forms after a short interval, embracing the jar and the whole *peru*, as it were, in a natural mausoleum. If two twins die simultaneously, they are put in separate pots, but occupy only the one *peru*, and the number of the *tuk* is not increased. The twin's *gwenô jôk* (consecrated chicken) is killed over the jar and eaten by the nearest relation, his father, if alive, the feathers and bones being thrown under the *peru*."¹ In Palestine in the earliest times, as the excavations at Gezer have shown, the cave-dwellers burned their dead. This practice was not followed by the later Semitic inhabitants, who buried their dead in the earth. The caves of the pre-Semitic inhabitants, however, continued to be used for disposal of the dead. In one cave bones were found scattered over the floor. In conformity with an early type of burial, the body seems to have been placed on its side with the knees drawn up toward the chin. Skeletons were found in enclosures around the sides of the caves, which seem to have been reserved for persons of distinction.²

In another burial at Gezer, fifteen bodies had been placed in a cistern, one of these having been the body of a girl about sixteen years old. This was perhaps a quite exceptional type of burial. Another practice, which has survived among tribes east of the Jordan, was to place the dead in the earth inside one of the prehistoric menhirs (*gilgals*). When bodies were placed in the ground, the simplest procedure was to bury them without accessory of any kind. A few burials of this kind were found at Gezer. "The skeleton was in these cases stretched out; sometimes on its side. As these bodies were

¹ *The Lango: A Nilotic Tribe of Uganda*, 1923, pp. 469 f.

² Caves are mentioned as burial-places in the Old Testament (e.g., Genesis XXIII)

buried without accessories, so contrary to the custom of the Palestinians who placed food or drink by the dead, the excavator thought that they were probably the graves of murdered persons, who had been hastily concealed in the earth."¹ Another form of burial was found at Gezer. Dr. Macalister came upon five graves, which were probably Philistine. "These graves were excavations in the earth, lined with cement, and, after the interment, covered with four or five massive stones and earth. In these graves the usual deposits of food and drink had been made in beautiful bronze and silver vessels, which show kinship to the art of Cyprus."² Another form of tomb more frequently met with is the rock-hewn tomb. This may be either a 'shaft' tomb or a 'doorway' tomb. A 'shaft' tomb has been described as follows: "The tomb chamber or chambers are cut in the rock and are approached by a perpendicular rock-hewn shaft, which is usually rectangular. This shaft is closed at the bottom with slabs and then the shaft is filled with earth. Such tombs are usually constructed in ledges covered over with soil, so that, when the hole leading to the rock-cut shaft is filled, the tomb is effectually concealed."³ The 'doorway' tombs are tombs cut either in a ledge which is underground or in a ledge on the slope of a hill. In either case they are approached through a doorway. The tombs consisted of one room or more. The bodies were placed either on the floor, or on raised benches, or on shelves cut in the rock. Another plan was to cut a shaft or niche in the rock and push the body or sarcophagus in. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods such tombs were enlarged and adorned. In one of them there were three rooms in its upper level and three in its lower level.⁴ The

¹ G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 3rd Ed., 1920, p. 181. The excavator was Dr. R. A. S. Macalister.

² Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

³ Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

⁴ Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

children buried in the walls of Megiddo were placed in urns.¹

Burial in urns, has been found elsewhere. In Malabar have been found caves with massive urns (*kuta-kallu*) and massive sepulchral urns without caves. In some of the specimens of sepulchral urns found at Vāniamkulam in the Valluvanād Taluk, the bottom of the urn thickens out in a circular shape and through this protuberance a small hole is drilled. "It has been suggested that this peculiarity in construction is emblematic of the religious ideas connected with the *Bhū-dēvi* or earth goddess (*Tellus*), and that burial in this fashion was emblematic of the return of the individual to the womb of Mother Earth. The protuberance on the bottom of the urn under this supposition would signify that it was representative of the *os uteri*."²

Writing of the Zoroastrians in the Kianian period (from c. 2000 B.C. to c. 700 B.C.), M. N. Dhalla says: 'As the burial of the dead is classed among the most inexpressible of sins, and as the demolishing of tombs and the digging out of corpses are held to be meritorious deeds, mortuary buildings would not be expected in Zoroastrian Iran. The Vendidad enjoins the exposure of the dead on the summits of mountains, where they may be devoured by corpse-eating birds and dogs. The dried bones are later to be collected and placed in a receptacle made of either stone, concrete or clay. The Shah Namah, however, speaks of charnel houses built of various designs, with lofty halls, ivory seats and gates painted red and blue, as the final resting places of some kings and heroes.'³

The Chinese have never adopted any system of disposal of the dead which entails a quick destruction of the body,

¹ See R. Kittel, *The Scientific Study of the Old Testament*, 1910, pp. 55 f.

² William Logan, *Malabar*, 1887, I, p. 181.

³ *Zoroastrian Civilization*, 1922, p. 149. In early times the dead body was fastened with brass or stones, so that the birds and dogs might not carry the bones to the waters and trees, p. 157.

such as cremation, water burial, exposition in the open air, etc. "From the earliest times we find them clinging to the system of burying their dead in the ground, in coffins of great solidity, sometimes in several coffins inclosed one within another, in receptacles calculated to ward off putrefaction for a long time."¹

In ancient times stone coffins seem to have been used; but according to the *Li ki* coffins of wood came into vogue during the Yin dynasty, and they have continued to be generally used down to the present day. Since the main object of the coffins of antiquity was to prevent decomposition of the corpse, it is perfectly natural that they should have been made of very thick, substantial wood. Wooden grave vaults were also constructed, no doubt to make doubly sure that the corpse would be preserved from speedy decay. There is mention of stone vaults also.

It appears "that the ancient Chinese used double, triple and quadruple coffins of different kinds of wood and hides, with vaults of wood or solid stone."²

In China "the coffin is covered all over with oiled paper over which comes a layer of straw, and finally the pit is filled up with a watery mixture of earth and lime. In time this mixture becomes very hard and forms a vault, which prevents the coffin from being crushed under the weight of the earth when it loses its solidity from the decay of the wood."³

The Chinese work, *Tso ch'wen*, states that when Wen, the ruler of Sung, died in 587 B.C., they used for his grave lime of clams.⁴ Lime was used for the construction of graves many centuries before the Christian era. According to the work *Cheu li* there was an Officer for the Sea-clams whose duty it was to provide clams for closing burial pits.⁵

¹ J. J. M. De Groot, *The Religious System of China*, 1892, Vol. I, p. 280.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 291.

³ J. J. M. De Groote, *The Religious System of China*, 1892, I, p. 213.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 1894, II, p. 725.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 1897, III, p. 1081.

In mediaeval times the use of lime must have been very common for a formal rescript was made rendering the use of it almost obligatory. We read in Chu Hi's Rituals for Family Life: "Make a partition wall (of boards around the coffin in the grave) for the lime, then put a (wooden) cover into the pit, and fill up the space around with lime, finally filling the pit by means of earth." According to De Groot, "commentators, expounding this passage, say that a layer of charcoal dust must be laid at the bottom of the pit, and, over it, a thick layer of lime mixed with sand and clay, and that a similar double protection against termites, moisture, roots of trees and robbers is to be made around and over the coffin by the help of wooden boards."¹

In the Channel Islands limpet shells seem to have served much the same purpose as clams in China. In the interior of the cromlechs were found "thick layers of limpet shells, forming a hard concrete, through which a pick-axe is forced with difficulty."²

A Chinese work, the History of the Southern Part of the Realm, speaks of an old grave which was discovered in a garden. "Nothing was placed over the coffin except a stone vault, which contained over ten different sorts of copper articles, three old-fashioned signets of jade, and a very large quantity of precious objects, a part of which were not recognizable. There were also several pecks of gold and silver objects shaped like silk-worms and snakes; besides, a mound had been made of red sand and a tank of silvery water."³

We have seen that, often in prehistoric and primitive burials bodies were placed in a sleeping posture, or in an embryonic position; that they were surrounded with red earth or with sand; that they were provided with shells, with the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 1081.

² S. P. Oliver, *Megalithic Structures of the Channel Islands*, 1870, pp. 3 f.

³ J. J.-M. De Groot, *The Religious System of China*, 1894, II, pp. 413 f.

teeth of animals, with flint implements, and with such treasures as jade or amber. We shall see the significance of these things later.

MAURICE A. CANNEY.

THE IVORY COMB

Torn from a dead and stiffened jungle beast
Whose hour of forest empery is past
As passes all our futile mortal power ;
Carven and wrought by some prehensile hand
Slim-fingered, flushed with purple at the base
Of tawny digit-nail and supple thumb ;
Fashioned into a thing of wondrous grace,
The patterned magic of your vellum sheen
Lays hold upon my inner sanctuary
Of thoughts, ideals, loves and hates and woes,
You breathe a distant, sultry atmosphere
Of flaming passion, seething far beyond
The mere conception of an ivory tusk,
For you are India, sad, mystic land,
And in your very weight, symbolical.

GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

¹ Lecture delivered at the Calcutta University on the 9th January 1925.

HISTORICAL RECORDS AT GOA

The Portuguese were the first European nation to visit India by an entirely maritime route. Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut in 1498. He was followed by other naval leaders and diplomatic relation was soon established with the petty rulers of the South. They obtained a permanent foothold in India when Albuquerque took possession of Goa for the second time. But they did not confine their activities to commerce alone. Some of the Portuguese adventurers committed piracy in Indian waters, while others found a suitable outlet for their military ardour in the armies of native princes. It is commonly believed that the superiority of European arms and military discipline was for the first time demonstrated in India by the French, when Dupleix repulsed from the ramparts of Madras the numerous hordes of Anwar-uddin, Nawab of Arcot. But long before that event Paçheco and his hundred comrades had earned an eternal fame for their country and countrymen by their gallant defence of Cochin against an army of 50,000 sent by the Zamorin. Portuguese military adventurers were thereafter welcomed by every Deccan prince. They fought for the Raja of Vijayanagar against his Muslim enemies, they entered the army of the Raja of Canara, they served in the artillery of the celebrated Bahadur Shah of Gujrat and the Portuguese pirates soon extended their sphere of activity to the Bay of Bengal. They played an important part in Indian History for more than a century and their records cannot but throw a flood of light on many of its obscure corners. It is well known that Sewel based his classical work on the History of Vijayanagar upon two Portuguese chronicles published by Prof. David Lopez of Lisbon under the title of *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga*. Grant Duff makes many references to Portuguese records in his immortal History of the Marathas. The India Office deputed

Frederick Charles Danvers to study the Portuguese records at Lisbon and Evora and the results of his labours have been embodied in two stout volumes on the Portuguese in India. But much has yet to be done. The old kingdom of Vijayanagar and the now defunct Maratha empire were not the only Indian powers with whom the Portuguese had political and commercial dealings. Their correspondence with the kings of Bijapur, whom they call Idalxa or Idalcão, cannot be safely ignored by a student of the history of that kingdom. Nor can a historian of Mysore afford to be indifferent to the numerous letters addressed by successive Viceröys and Secretaries of State to Hyder Ali, Tipu, Hayat Saheb, Raghunath Angria, the Admiral of Hyder's fleet and others. What light the Portuguese records, when carefully and critically studied, can throw on the history of our own province has been shown by the Rev. Fr. Hosten, but I cannot pass on without quoting some extracts from one document which has hitherto received but little notice though it has been published in Judice Biker's monumental collection of treaties and peace. The original is in Portugal and not at Goa, but its importance affords ample justification for its reproduction here. It is a treaty between Paramananda, Raja of Chandradwip or Bakla and Dom Constantino de Braganza, Viceroy of India, concluded at Goa on the 30th April, 1559.

I. TREATY WITH THE RAJA OF BAKLA.

Very little is known about Paramananda, except that he succeeded his maternal grandfather Krishna Ballaya on the throne of Kachua. Mr. Beveridge writes, "He was the son of Balabhadra Bosu, and with him commenced the Bosu family. Parmanand was succeeded by Jagadanand, who was drowned in the Ganges." It appears that the King of Bakla had sent two envoys, Nematcão and Guannu Bysuar,¹ to Goa.

¹ Can it be Kanu or Ganu Biswas?

The former was undoubtedly a Muhammadan, as his name Niamat Khan¹ shows, the latter name has been however corrupted beyond recognition, but probably he was a Hindu as he is styled in the preamble of the treaty as Veedor da fazenda de El Rei, Parmananda Ray, Rei de Bacalaa or the Dewan of Raja Paramananda, King of Bakla. The first article of the treaty provides that, His Highness the King of Bakla will open the port of Bakla or any other port in his kingdom that may be convenient, so that the ships and boats of the Portuguese, as were willing, might go there with his license in the same manner as they used to go to the great port of Bengal (Chittagong) and to other ports of that coast from Paigão to the port of Bakla, with their goods and merchandise, not being spoils of war, and no ship of the said Portuguese nor their goods shall go to the said ports that were on the said coast from Paigão to Bakla and also that the Capitão mor (Chief Captain or Commodore) who leave for Chittagong and the Portuguese ships shall go there no more but all shall go to the said port of Bakla and any one who may do the contrary shall be punished and all persons carrying on trade there (with Chittagong) shall lose their ships and goods which will be confiscated by my master the King and they will be punished as rebels. The port, selected by the King of Bakla for the said purpose shall be such as will afford security to the ships, provided that the above-mentioned limit from Paigão to Bakala shall not be outside the boundary of Bengal and the Chittagong coast.

The second article lays down that all Portuguese and their vessels that may go to the said port of the King of Bakla to buy or sell goods shall pay the ancient custom duties of the said port and the said duties will not be in any way raised or enhanced. According to the third article the King of Bakla made himself responsible for supplying the Portuguese ships

¹ There is a village called Niamati in the District of Bakargunge.

visiting his port with all commodities and merchandise that were manufactured in the whole of the coast land from Paigão to Bakla so that the ships might not return without the cargo that could be purchased in the country or could be procured by an agreement between the Portuguese and the merchants who bring them or the said king and his officers should they happen to possess them. The fourth article lays down that the said king shall not permit any tyranny or injustice to be committed against the Portuguese Captain-mor and merchants in his port and in his lands but he will show them all favour and give them all help that contribute to friendly relations and induce them to come there in the future.

The Portuguese in their turn were naturally willing to reciprocate and the fifth article deals with the concessions that they were to make in favour of the Bengali Raja and his subjects. The Viceroy undertook to furnish them each year with four *cartazes* (passports or naval license) so that four of his ships could freely navigate in different parts of the Indian Ocean. Two of these *cartazes* were for two ships going to the city of Goa where they were to pay the duties for the goods they might carry and in case they failed to come to the said city for loss of time or monsoon or on any other account they might go to any other part of Goa but they were to pay their duties for the cargo at the custom house of Goa as if they had come to that city. One ship of the Bakla Raja was permitted to go to Urmuz (Ormuz) and another to Malaqua (Molucca) but they were not to visit any port belonging to the enemies of the Portuguese. The sixth article says that in case the said king have war with other kings, lords and chieftains, the Captain-mor who may be there shall give him all necessary help with all the Portuguese against his enemies and the said Raja shall pay the expenses of all who enter his service and he will further have to guard against all loss that the Portuguese may suffer in their goods in helping him. The seventh article shows that the King of Bakla was

to occupy a somewhat subordinate position to that of the King of Portugal for he was to pay an annual tribute in the said port and the tribute was to consist of the following articles:

Five thousand candis¹ of good fresh rice for the provision of His Highness's store-house and fleet.

One hundred candis of good and packed butter.

One hundred candis of country oil packed.

One hundred candis of Tar.

Fifty fardos² of good white sugar.

Fifty scores of traquetea³ cloths and fifty scores of mazaguayna⁴ cloths.

All these were to be of a quality as one merchant would accept of another and were to be delivered to the Captain-mor who might go there for them or to any other person appointed by His Highness or the Vedor da fazenda da India for this purpose, and if any of these articles were not available in the country, its value was to be paid in such commodities as might be required by the person appointed to collect it. All these articles were to be delivered on the sea coast by the King at his cost between October and November of each year so that they might be embarked and collected in the ships that might be necessary for carrying such articles. The cost of transporting them from the sea beach to the shipyard was to be borne by the Portuguese government. The eighth and last article leaves the Portuguese free to conclude similar treaties with other Rajas of the Bakla-Paigão coast. It runs as follows—If some kings or chieftains of the said coast between Paigão and Bacala want to conclude peace and friendship with His Highness (the Viceroy) and pay other tributes to the King our master to induce (our) ships to visit

¹ The same as Marathi Khandi a measure equivalent to 20 maunds.

² A pack, a bale or burden.

³ A kind of cloth manufactured in Malabar, see Dalgado, *Glossario Luso Asiatico* Vol II, p. 386.

⁴ A kind of cloth manufactured at Mazagão in Bombay, see Dalgado, *Glossario*, Vol. II p. 46.

their ports, the viceroy shall be able to make such contracts without breaking the present treaty and shall be able to divide the ships available for the voyage in two or three (squadrons) limiting at once the number that was to go to the port of Bakla by others that were to go to other ports. The Captain-mor however should go to the said port of Bakla in the same way as he used to go to the great port (Chittagong). So long as no contract is made with the abovementioned kings and lords, the said ships and the Portuguese shall all be obliged to go to (Raja Paramananda's) port of Bakla or where the said king may ordain and the Raja shall be ever bound to pay the said tributes even if His Highness the Viceroy makes contracts with other kings. If however he pays what these others were to give then all will be reserved for his port and no (contract) shall be made with others.

The importance of this treaty cannot be overestimated. It shows that the people of Bakargunge on that distant date carried on a maritime trade under the protection and patronage of their king. The king himself was eager to secure a monopoly of trade with the Portuguese and thus enhance his financial resources and was prepared to make many important concessions for that purpose. The Raja of Chandradwip did not probably at that date acknowledge Muhammadan supremacy or he would not be in a position to conclude a defensive treaty with a foreign power. What drove him to such a step we do not precisely know. The ambition and the war-like activities of Soliman Shah Kerany does not explain it, for he was not on the throne of Bengal when this treaty was concluded. But the rise of Sher Shah and the fall of Mahmood Shah were events that must have made profound impression on the petty Hindu Rajas of Bengal. Akbar conquered Bengal about 16 years later and Paramananda must have felt justified in taking this precaution which however ultimately proved futile.

The treaty also enables us to identify Bakla with Kachua with some amount of certainty. The prosperous city of Bakla

was visited by the English traveller Ralph Fitch in 1586 or 27 years after the conclusion of this treaty. Mr. Beveridge writes, "This Bacola has entirely disappeared, and it is only a conjecture that identifies it with Kachua, the ancient seat of the Chandrawip Rajas. Fitch does not mention how he came to it from Chatigam—i.e., Chittagong—nor is there any local tradition of there ever having been a town called Bacola or Bakla." But this treaty conclusively proves that there was a port known to the foreigners if not to the natives of the District, as Bacala or Bakla. The king also took his title from the place. When the treaty was concluded the seat of the Chandradwip Rajas was at Kachua. According to the *Ain-i-Akbari* "Sarkār Bākla is upon the banks of the sea; the fort is situated among trees." Kachua, now a village of no importance, is on the banks of a fairly large river and very near the sea. So we shall not be far from the truth if we identify the lost city or port of Bakla with Kachua. The "very fair and high-built houses" noticed by Ralph Fitch were probably all destroyed by the terrible deluge mentioned by Abul Fazl and the absence of ancient ruins in the present site need not puzzle us too much.

II. SON OF THE KING OF BUSNA.

Another important piece of information is supplied by Cunha Rivara in his *Catalogo Dos Manuscriptos Da Bibliotheca publica Eboense* (p. 345) published in 1858. The author of a Bengali dialogue is there described as "that great Christian Cathechist who converted so many Hindus, called D. Antonio, son of the king of Busna." There was one king of Bhusnā whose name is still cherished with reverence and pride throughout Bengal. Is it possible that a son of the great Sitāram was converted to Christianity by the Portuguese Missionaries? The question certainly deserves a careful enquiry.

Enough has been said to convince any serious student of

the History of Bengal that the Portuguese sources may prove invaluable to him. But it was not my main object to examine the Portuguese records from that point of view. The time at my disposal was very limited, I had to finish my work in five weeks and consequently I had to confine myself to my own subject, *viz.*, Maratha History alone. As time did not permit me to examine more than one section of the Goa archives, I confined myself, though reluctantly, to the diplomatic correspondence contained in the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* and the following lines, I hope, will show that the work ought to be pursued further. From the time of Shivaji the Portuguese came into intimate contact with the Marathas both as friend and foe and their records show how much we have yet to learn about the eventful career of the great Maratha leader.

III. SHIVAJI'S TREATIES WITH THE PORTUGUESE.

"On the 30th September 1664 Mirza Raja Jai Singh was appointed to put down Shivaji." He believed in promptness. On the 10th February, 1665, he reached Aurangabad and on the 13th of the same month he arrived at Poona (Sarkar, Shivaji 1st ed., pp. 120-121). Raja Jai Sing wanted to accomplish his object in a single decisive campaign and the political isolation of Shivaji was a necessary preliminary of his success. He sent envoys and emissaries to all the petty chiefs in the neighbourhood. Bijapur was both cajoled and threatened and even the European merchant powers were not left alone. Negotiation was carried on with the Portuguese through Francisco de Mello and Diego de Mello, wrongly called Francis and Dick Mile by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar (see Biker, Tomo IV, p. 126). In these negotiations also the great Rajput statesman was unwilling to waste much time, for we find the Portuguese Viceroy Anotonio de Mello e Castro writing an apologetic letter to the Mirza Raja as early as the 31st March or within four weeks of his taking over charge from Maharaja Jaswant Singh.

Shivaji had in his army a number of Portuguese officers and it was evidently construed as an overt act on the part of the Portuguese Government. But Shivaji was by no means the only Indian prince to employ Portuguese and Goanese Christian officers; the Emperor of Delhi had welcomed these foreigners as artillery experts. As usual Shivaji had not stopped here, he worked with an open mind and whenever he found a useful institution whether civil or military under the neighbouring Governments, he did not hesitate to introduce in his infant kingdom something analogous. Among his eighteen karkhanas or state establishments Sabhasad mentions *Darukhana* or magazine. Prof. Sarkar has sought in vain for its prototype among the karkhanas of the Muhammadan kings of Delhi. *Darukhana* is an exact synonym of the Portuguese *Casa de Polbora*. The Portuguese were specially noted for their efficiency in artillery and it was natural that Shivaji should organise his artillery establishments on their model.

The Viceroy had however no difficulty in explaining away the seeming delinquency. He had no control over the Portuguese in native service and he wrote to the Rajput general emphatically denying any compliance on his part and disowning all responsibility in the matter. "These territories," the letter ran, "never gave any help or showed any favour to Shivaji. That Shivaji has some Portuguese in his service is not enough to presume my approval of it. For there are many Portuguese without my permission in the country of the Moghul king. Some (migrated) for crimes committed, others (went away) oblivious of their duty and it is not within my power to punish them. As Your Excellency knows many Portuguese will, in the same way, be found in Goicônda, Canara and with Idalsha." But the Portuguese were no longer in a position to give offence to the mighty Moghul and the Viceroy addressed another letter on the same date to the Portuguese and Christian officers in the Moghul army in which an identical protest was made almost word for word.

Jai Singh compelled Shivaji to sue for peace and ultimately induced him to undertake that perilous journey to Agra. On Shivaji's return to the Daccan, the Portuguese Government were probably again approached by the Moghul diplomats and the Viceroy (João Nunes da Cunha) offered naval co-operation against the Marathas, provided the Moghul would bear the expenses, in a letter, dated 29th April, 1667 to Mirza Raja Jai Singh. (Biker, Tomo IV, pp. 131-132.) We do not know whether this letter reached him at all, for in May of the same year he was replaced by Prince Muazzam and the Moghul prestige in the Deccan at once sank low. Moreover the Portuguese subjects were suffering from Maratha depredations and on the 5th December, 1667 a treaty of peace and amity was concluded between Shivaji and the Portuguese Viceroy. Shivaji denied all knowledge of and responsibility for the inroads made by his people and promised to release without any ransom all men, women and children carried away by his people on the 9th November, 1667 and restore all cattle and transport bullocks (boiadas) belonging to the subjects of the King of Portugal. The Portuguese Government on their part undertook to prevent Lakham Savant and his partisans from giving Shivaji any trouble from their safe shelter, in the Portuguese territories and to compel them to live in the Island of Goa for effectively checking their mischiefs. Article 3 provides for freedom of commerce and articles 4 and 5 provide for amicable settlement of all differences that might arise between Shivaji and the Portuguese.

It is doubtful whether this treaty was faithfully observed by the two signatory powers, for on the 18th May, 1668 or within six months of the conclusion of the treaty, the Viceroy in a grandiloquent letter addressed to Aurangzib himself (Biker, Tomo IV, p. 134), once more offered him naval co-operation against Shivaji and we read in the preamble of the next treaty concluded on the 10th February, 1670, that Shivaji's Captains continued to be a source of trouble to their Portuguese

neighbours. Shivaji had plundered Portuguese subjects and captured and detained in his ports many Portuguese vessels. The Portuguese had on their part also captured and detained ships belonging to Shivaji and his subjects. From the scanty materials at our disposal it is impossible to say who offered the first provocation and who retaliated. But probably Portuguese objection to free navigation was the real cause of this breach of peace. They insisted on their right of search and compelled every ship navigating the Arabian Sea to seek and carry their *cartaz*. As may be easily imagined this could not be tolerated by any self-respecting power and led to frequent friction. Shivaji tried to secure Portuguese alliance against his Muhammadan enemies of Delhi and Janjira. A born diplomat and judge of human character he knew that his object could best be achieved by playing upon the fears and anxieties of the Portuguese. One of the most inveterate enemies that the Portuguese then had was the Imam of Muscat. Shivaji wrote to the Viceroy that the Imam had proposed a defensive and offensive alliance with him against the Portuguese. Whether the proposal was really made or whether it was a clever hint that Shivaji could make himself doubly dangerous by co-operating with the Imam at sea we do not know. A fresh treaty was concluded. But the Portuguese were no longer in a position to defy the Emperor of Delhi or the Admiral of his fleet, nor were they inclined to concede to Shivaji the much coveted right of free navigation. Only small boats carrying food-grains, salt and other drugs of different kinds were permitted to ply from Caranja to Goa without any *cartaz* but big ships, Galvats, and other coasting vessels of any considerable dimension were denied that privilege. Shivaji's subjects, however, could obtain under the new treaty *cartaz* for any port, other than those of the enemies of the Portuguese, on payment of the customary fee and in this respect they were to be treated in the same manner as the subjects of the Moghul Emperor. Shivaji on his part was to provide shelter and provision in his ports to

Portuguese ships in distress. He also undertook not to construct any fort or stone building on the Portuguese frontier unless the site was separated from the boundary line by a river. As the Portuguese were unable or unwilling to break their existing treaty and friendly relations with the Moghuls, they offered to mediate between Shivaji and his enemy the Siddi of Janjira.

IV. THE ORIGIN OF CHAUGH.

This practically exhausts the published Portuguese sources. Of the unpublished Portuguese records in the Goa archives I am now in a position to deal with those embodied in the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* alone. The first volume of the *Reis Visinhos* opens with a letter to Sambhaji, dated the 1st December, 1667. It is a formal letter dictated probably by the courtesy that the Maratha Prince could expect from his Portuguese neighbours. The new Viceroy informed Sambhaji of his safe arrival at Goa. It is probable that Sambhaji as heir-apparent then enjoyed some influence and power in his father's Government or the Viceroy could not go out of his way to address this short but formal letter to him. On the same date Girmaji Pandit Subedar of Bicholy was informed that Shivaji's envoy Pitambar Sinay (Shenvi) could visit Goa as often as he liked. Who was this Pitambar? It is not unlikely that we meet here for the second time the selfsame diplomat who came to Shivaji's Court as an envoy from Kudal, the same Pitambar Shenvi who was contemptuously called a fish-eating Brahman by the punctilious Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad. Shivaji knew how to recognise and employ merit even when discovered in an enemy employee. A notable instance of this is furnished by the case of Baji Prabhu Deshpande who was originally in the employment of the Deshmukh of Hirdas. He had not only been appointed to a high command in Shivaji's army but it is now well known how Baji Prabhu had sacrificed his own life to secure the safe

retreat of Shivaji. It was on a delicate mission that Pitambar Shenvi was employed by Shivaji. Probably Pitambar had earned Shivaji's good opinion by his tact and ability while acting on behalf of his former master, the Desai of Kudal, and as Pitambar, an inhabitant of Kudal, was likely to have an accurate knowledge of the inner politics of his Portuguese neighbours, it was but natural that Shivaji should select him for his envoy at the Portuguese head-quarters. Like many of his caste-fellows, Pitambar probably was a good linguist. (this is however a conjecture) and possessed some knowledge of the Portuguese language, a necessary equipment for his new office. Everyone cannot convert enemies into loyal friends and herein lies the greatness of Shivaji. People who once came in contact with him were at once carried away by his irresistible personal charm and magnetism.

The first service rendered by Pitambar was, as these old records tell us, the restoration of a dancing girl to liberty. She was probably attached to a temple, for both Annaji Datto and Moropant Pingle interested themselves in her cause. But it was not for this trifling end that Pitambar had been deputed to Goa. His task was as important as delicate. Shivaji demanded *Chauth* from the Portuguese on account of some villages near Daman over which a local Raja had once exercised some sort of overlordship.

According to Grant Duff, Shivaji demanded *Chauth* from the Portuguese for the first time in 1674 on account of Bassein. "It is not known," he says, "by what means they evaded the payment. The Mahratta histories of Shivaji's life do not state that the Portuguese ever admitted the 'Chouth' but frequent mention is made of their having paid tribute, and probably some compromise was made on this occasion." Prof. Sarkar mentions a Maratha raid against Daman in 1676 but opines that no permanent gain resulted from this campaign. Whether any permanent gain resulted from this expedition it is very difficult to say but it is almost clear that Pitambar's embassy to Goa

was certainly the direct outcome of the apparently fruitless campaign. Chauth had been demanded by Shivaji and raids had been made to enforce his demand and then probably the Portuguese offered to discuss the vexed question and amicably settle it. Prof. Takkhav goes nearer the truth when he says, "The territory of this prince (the Raja of Ramnagar) comprised a few mountain forts, the outlying territories on the sea-coast forming the district of Daman, being under the Portuguese. The latter were accustomed to pay an annual tribute to the Raja to secure their immunity from his incursions. Shivaji having occupied these mountain forts turned upon the Portuguese power at Damān. The Portuguese * * * sent an officer to inquire what errand Shivaji's men had come upon. They made answer, as they had been previously tutored, that they had come to enforce and confirm the annual tribute to the lord of Ramnagar. The Portuguese willingly consented....." Let the old Portuguese records tell their own story now.

On the first of December 1677 the Portuguese Government sent Pitambar Shenvi a free permit to visit Goa; on the 10th of the next month (January 1678) the Viceroy, Pedro d'Almeida, Conde de Assumar, addressed the following letter to Shivaji,— "Pitambar Shenvi, the envoy of Your Highness, gave me a memorial on certain negotiations that * * * some letters delivered to the Viceroy my predecessor to which he had given no reply * * * for he was occupied with some business; and I immediately ordered a diligent search for them in the Secretariat and I shall try to ascertain the particulars of which they treated, so that I may confer with Your Highness. And now the said envoy has delivered to me the much esteemed letter of Your Highness, in which Your Highness expresses satisfaction at my arrival, informing me of your good news and the progress of your arms which delighted me much * * * also it deserves the excellent friendship that Your Highness had with this State and Your Highness may be certain * * * of the continuance of the good relation.

that should exist between us without any speech on my part *
 * * * the Prince my master recommended to me. Your Highness asks me to write to the Captains of the fortresses of Bassein and Daman that they should pay to Your Highness the Chauth(?) that has always been paid to the Choutia(?) as Your Highness is now in possession of his territories. I order the said captains to inform me (that in this) * * * (?) information that till now I have regarding this negotiation, having arrived here only a few days ago; and in reply I shall write to Your Highness to send a person with authority to make a settlement with the people I nominate, after examining the terms of the contract by which the said Chauth was settled and with which it is conceded, and Your Highness shall be positive that it being clear that Your Highness is absolute * * * there should not be any doubt that what we paid to the said Choutia shall be paid to Your Highness, and as to the rest that Your Highness tells me in his letter, I observe to Your Highness that the Portuguese are better as friends than as enemies and as Your Highness is so wise he should consider these things with care that between us may be preserved and augmented our friendship and Your Highness will always find in me a faithful friend. May God illuminate the person of Your Highness in His grace. Goa, 10th January, 1678. Dom Pedro de Almeida. (Reis Visinhos, Vol. I, fol. 2).

On the same date two letters were addressed to Annaji Datto and Moropant Pingle. Annaji is styled as Surnivis Subedar mor das terras de Concão and Moro Pant is addressed as Pessua e Pradano de Sivagi Raze. The letter written to Annaji unfortunately could not be deciphered, but in the epistle addressed to the Peshwa reference is made to his demand for Ghauth and the answer is exactly similar to that in the letter quoted above. The Viceroy had arrived in India only recently and he was, as he himself writes, making enquiries about the justice of the Maratha claims. In the meantime

Moro Pandit was requested to send a man with necessary power to confer with the Portuguese officers. About the same time (the date is obliterated) a letter was written to Girmaji Pandit, Subedar of Bicholy, in response to some complaints made by him about which the Viceroy promised to make an enquiry.

On the 15th of January, 1678, Almeida wrote a second letter to Shivaji. "I have already written to Your Highness another letter, in response to two of yours, which I delivered to Pitambar Sinay, Your Highness's envoy. And I thought (it proper) to write this letter to offer my thanks to Your Highness for the demonstration with which Your Highness welcomed my arrival which I shall reciprocate with loyal friendship, preserving for ever the (good relation) that Your Highness has with this State as Your Highness will experience throughout the whole period of my administration as well by the special affection that I have for Your Highness, for I had already heard much of your great qualities while yet in Portugal * * * as by the great earnestness with which I was charged by the Prince my master. And as regards the business on which the abovementioned envoy came I shall order to answer Your Highness with all possible brevity as Your Highness (sees) in this letter. The abovementioned envoy will be able to assure Your Highness of the good will that he finds in me and the expedition that I have given to the letters I ordered to be written to Moro Pandito and Anagi Pandito in reply to those of theirs and to the Captains of the Fortresses of the North to inform me with all veracity about the particulars of which I asked them to make enquiry regarding the Chouth and their answer I shall send to Your Highness; and in the said letters I have ordained them to have good relations and amity with the Subedars of Your Highness and not to permit in our lands the malefactors of the Collies and Choutia so that they may not create disturbance or commit robberies in the territories of Your Highness. I expect Your Highness will also on

your part ordain the said Subedars to have the same relations and good amity with the said Captains so that there may not be between us any occasion for resentment or grievance. May God illumine the person of Your Highness in His Grace. Goa, 15th January, 1678, Dom P. de Almeida (Reis Visinhos, Tomo 1, Fol. 3).

The Conde de Assumar, however, did not stay in India long enough to settle this important question. He arrived at Goa on the 28th October, 1677 but left for Mozambique on the 27th January, 1678 where he died on the 22nd March of the next year. "During the absence of the Viceroy, the Government of India was administered by Dom Fr. Antonio Brandão, the Archbishop Primate, and Antonio Paes de Sande, who had been named in the Patent of Succession, together with the Chancellor, Francisco Cabral de Almada, who was now deceased." (Danners, Portuguese in India, Vol. II, p. 366.) The next letter on this subject was signed by the second of these commissioners Antonio Paes de Sande and was addressed to Shivaji's envoy Pitambar Shenvi. It is dated 12th July, 1768 and runs as follows:—We have received the letters that Pitambar Shenvi wrote to me and to the Archbishop Primate, in which he represented to me that he came to this city in connection with the subject of the payment of Chauth of the territories of Daman that used to be paid to the king Choutia. The Viceroy Dom Pedro d'Almeida answered him that he would send for information (on this subject) from the Captain General of the North and from that of the fortress of Daman, and when the said information came he would advise Sivaji Raze to send a person with authority to settle this business with the said Captains after examining the terms under which the said Chauth was created but the said advice had not come and the decision that was expected has been delayed. To this my answer is that the cause of this delay arose from the embarkation of the said Viceroy for Mozambique and on that account the said Captains neglected to send the information

he asked of them. It was not therefore possible to inform you that this state is not tributary to any neighbouring king. As however I desire to preserve peace and amity with Sivaji I do not take any notice and pretend to be ignorant of the information that the said Captains gave me. From that information it is clear that the said Chauth had its origin in the covenant that the villagers (Vazadores das Aldeas) of the district of Daman made of their own initiative with the King Choutia, without informing the past Viceroys and Governors to avoid the loss and robbery that his subjects used to commit in those villages. From that covenant a contract has been solemnised with various conditions that were to operate between them, and I have no doubt that in conformity with them the said Chauth will be paid to Sivaji Raze as it was paid to the King Choutia, as I am told in his letters that it is in the possession of his kingdom. To settle this business Pitambar Shenvi may advise Sivaji Raze to send on his behalf a person with proper authority for I write here upon this subject, after consulting the Captain of the fortress of Daman and examining the terms under which the inhabitants of the said villages subjected them to the payment of the said Chauth. The consideration of this affair is entrusted to the judges deputed for it, so that after the said villagers are heard and the common law and known custom relating to the Chauth are considered, the final decision of this business may be made with justice. Shivaji Raze may be informed of this that I on my part do not lack the desire of seeing his claim decided so that our friendship may go on increasing. Goa 12th July, 1678. Antonio Paes de Sande (Reis Visinhos, Tomo 1, fol. 12.)

In the meantime the Portuguese were still enforcing their naval supremacy upon all vessels belonging to other nations but they were inclined to be lenient to Shivaji's subjects. In a letter dated 12th March, 1678, Tanaji Ram, Havaldar of Vingurla, is informed, in reply to his letter for the restoration of a Manchua, captured and detained by the Portuguese, that the vessel was

captured, as it did not carry a *cartaz* but in view of the friendship and amity that existed between the Portuguese state and Shivaji Raze the vessel was ordered to be restored. Tanaji Ram was further informed that henceforth Shivaji's subjects will have nothing but friendly treatment from the Portuguese while in their territories. (Reis Visinhos, Tomo I, fol. 4). On the 23rd May, 1678, Pitambar Shenvi was informed in reply to a similar application for the restoration of a Parangue that he ought to know that no vessel could navigate the Indian Ocean without a *cartaz* from the Portuguese. (R. V., Tomo I, fol. 9).

The relations between the two powers were certainly being strained. Pitambar Shenvi was dead and it appears that no new envoy or plenipotentiary had been appointed in his place while Shivaji's people were being harassed by robbers and marauders from Portuguese territories and their patience was sorely tried by interference of the Portuguese fleet in the sea. Antonio Paes de Sande contended that he and his colleagues were doing their best to preserve the good relations hitherto prevailing between the two states, but Shivaji's Subedars thwarted their pacific attempts. The letter Sande wrote to Shivaji in this connection is certainly interesting. It runs as follows:—Received Your Highness's letter and rejoiced to find it accompanied by the excellent news of Your Highness's health and every time I shall get them the greater will be my satisfaction. In the same letter, Your Highness acquaints me with the desire that the good relation and friendship that now subsist between the vassals of Your Highness and those of His Majesty the Prince my master may continue. I am not less anxious that this friendship should be preserved and should for ever increase, as I have demonstrated on all occasions afforded by the Captains of Your Highness. Your Highness has written me that some malefactors from our jurisdiction go over to that of Your Highness to commit robbery and other misdeeds. My diligence to prevent this injury and the orders I have passed on the subject are well

known to the Subedar of Bichely, and it cannot be * * * * that I have sanctioned it and permitted so bad a thing that is of no use but a disturbance to the State. It is a fact that at times the negligence of the Captains is the (real) cause of such excesses. For times I have often advised them to get some of these malefactors arrested so that they might be tortured to confess (and betray) their companions to be punished in an exemplary manner or to inform immediately and send a messenger to the Captain nearest our territories so that he may go in pursuit of the band of persons from these territories in order that they might be identified, etc." This letter need not be quoted in full.

Antonio Paes de Sande goes on to point out that no minister had been appointed in the place of Pitamba Shenvi who died and it stood in the way of prompt transmission of letters. Shivaji was requested to remove this difficulty by appointing a new minister. Sande concludes this letter by explaining how difficult it was to stop all migration or immigration from and to his jurisdiction.

The next letter that Antonio Paes de Sande wrote to Shivaji dealt with the capture of some Maratha vessels by the Portuguese Armada (dated 17th November, 1678), Reis Visinhos, Tomo 1, fol. 18). These vessels according to the Portuguese version were trading with cities of Canara then at war with the Portuguese. Shivaji had evidently complained to the Goa authorities against the unfriendly conduct of their naval officers but Paes informed the Maratha King that he had been misinformed by his Captains and Subedars who were not well-disposed towards the Portuguese and who were not at all inclined to continue the peace and friendly relation then subsisting between the two states. Bitterness of feeling continued to increase and the Portuguese suspected, as the next letter of Sande shows, Shivaji's ministers of secretly helping their enemies in various ways (Letter dated 11th January, 1789, Reis Visinhos, Tomo 1, fol. 24). The last letter of this series

addressed to Shivaji tells us that the Maratha naval officers had in the meantime retaliated what they rightly or wrongly regarded as a hostile action by capturing in their turn some Portuguese ships. This letter, written on the 20th of March, 1679, also refers to Shivaji's demand of Chauth from some villages under the jurisdiction of Daman and I shall quote here only the relevant portion, "Received the letter of Your Highness, delivered by Ganu Chaty (Ganesh Sheth?), on the subject of sending Your Highness the Chauth that some villages under the jurisdiction of Daman used to pay to the King Choutia as Your Highness is now in possession of those territories. Pitambar Shenvi, the envoy of Your Highness, discussed this subject in this city with the Viceroy Pedro d'Almeida and after his departure and after I had succeeded him in this Government, I solicited Your Highness as a friend to settle (this question) and to send to that end, a person on your behalf with all necessary power to treat of the form and conditions of payment. For this contribution was paid by some villages of the said Daman under certain conditions to be observed by the two parties, in which this State did not otherwise participate except giving them that permission. All these have been shown in the letter I wrote to the said envoy to be presented to Your Highness. I now remit to Your Highness a copy of that letter so that it may be seen that I have not in any way failed in the observance and preservation of peace and amity and in offering good will to Your Highness.

Things having pursued this course, Your Highness and his ministers failed on their part (in this respect) by capturing against public faith, while in peace and amity, the vessels and goods of merchants of this city who went under our banner of the Armada of the North and were assembled in the river Zamquizarra (Shankheswar) in a port of a friendly Prince. I wrote to Your Highness on this subject and Your Highness gave a reply my letter being wrongly informed. It was a falsehood to

assert that the vessels entered your port, for the truth was that the Arabs were cruising (?) in the sea where Your Highness had no jurisdiction, neither has Your Highness any jurisdiction over the Portuguese or the Arabs " (Reis Visinhos, Vol. I, fol. 29).

In the next letter of the series, dated 8th May, 1680 addressed to Rayagi Pandito, Subedar mor de Sambagy Raze we read of Shivaji's death. The Portuguese had been preparing for a war with him. What the immediate provocation was these letters do not reveal, but it is sufficiently clear that both the parties had enough grievance against each other. When the news of Shivaji's death reached the Portuguese Government they at once suspended their hostile preparations and hastened to offer Sambhaji their condolence and assure him of their friendship. (Reis Visinhos, Vol. I, fol. 42).

These few letters show us only one side of the shield. Neither the original Marathi letters of Shivaji nor their Portuguese translation are now at Goa. A large number of records were sent from Goa to Lisbon many years ago and for all we know, these valuable documents may still be lying unheeded in some dark corners of the Record rooms of Lisbon or Evora. But one-sided as these letters necessarily are, the information yielded by them does not lack in either importance or interest. They certainly throw a sidelight on the origin of the Chauth hitherto regarded as an invention of that resourceful founder of the Marathā Empire. But it appears from the letters quoted above that the Chauth existed long before Shivaji rose to power.

According to Prof. Takkhav the Raja of Ramnagar used to receive an annual tribute from the Portuguese of Daman. Shivaji claimed this tribute after his reduction of the territories of the Koli Raja. In the Portuguese letters this Raja is styled as Rei Choutia because the tribute he received was Chauth or *Chouto* as the Portuguese called it. The Raja Choutia may therefore be reasonably identified with the Koli Raja of Ramnagar. There are many letters in the first volume of Livros dos Reis Visinhos addressed to El Rei Choutia, but time did not

permit me to go through them. Since I left Goa, these letters have been carefully studied by Prof. P. Pissurlencar and he informs me that the Raja Choutia was no other than the Raja of Ramnagar. The next question to be settled is when did those "villages under the jurisdiction of Daman" agree to pay the contribution called "Chouto" to the Raja of Ramnagar. I have no doubt that the exact date can be ascertained by an enquiry in the Archives of Daman, but that the arrangement was made long before Shivaji's birth is evident. Danvers tells us that "In 1615 a treaty of peace was concluded by Gonzalo Pinto da Fonseca at Daman, between the Portuguese and King Choutia, with whom there had been some differences on account of the latter having laid claim to certain lands which were also held to belong to Portuguese territory." (Portuguese in India, Vol. II, pp. 177-178.) The arrangement which earned the Raja of Ramnagar his title of Choutia must have been concluded earlier.

Let us now see when Shivaji first began to claim Chauth from his neighbours. Both Grant Duff and Ranade agree that Chauth was for the first time claimed by Shivaji in the year 1665 when the treaty of Purandar was concluded. It is however noteworthy that Sardeshmukhi had been claimed fifteen years earlier in 1650. This claim was repeated in 1657 for the second time, but on neither of these occasions any mention of the Chauth was made. I have said elsewhere (*Administrative System of the Marathas*) that Shivaji's claim to Sardeshmukhi was based on a legal fiction, but he compelled his neighbours to pay Chauth as a price of security from plunder and for an identical reason the Portuguese subjects of Daman also had agreed to pay Chauth to the Raja of Ramnagar. In the year 1664 Shivaji had passed through the territories of the Koli Rajas of Jawhar and Ramnagar on his way to Surat and probably on this occasion he had learnt of the Koli practice of levying Chauth from their Portuguese neighbours. In 1672 the Koli country was conquered and Chauth was demanded not

only from the Portuguese but also from the people of Surat. In the first letter of Dom Pedro d'Almeida we find a corroboration of Grant Duff's statement that Chouth was demanded on account of Bassein as well. This claim was probably dropped later as no mention of it is made in the letters of Antonio Paes de Sande to Pitambar Shenvi and Shivaji where the justice of Shivaji's claims against Daman is admitted. Shivaji did not invent the Chauth, he found the practice of levying Chauth already in existence and he quickly realised that the practice could be easily extended to other hostile territories to his great financial benefit.

The Portuguese did not address either Shivaji or Sambhaji as Chhatrapati. They were invariably styled in the Portuguese letters as Shivaji Raze and Sambhaji Raze although Shahu and even the powerless potentates of the Kolhapur branch at a subsequent period were addressed in the Portuguese letters as Xatrapaty. Annaji Datto and Moro Pant also, it should be noted, are styled as 'Surnivis' and 'Pessua' respectively, for their new designations of Sachiv and Mukhya Pradhan had evidently not yet gained any popularity among strangers.

SOME CURRENCY LESSONS OF THE WAR

VI

The dominant concern at the present time is the subject of the gold standard. To remedy the evils of the depreciated paper currencies the return to the pre-war gold standard has been advocated. One by one the different countries¹ are slowly adopting the pre-war gold standard as their monetary system. Quite recently Austria gave up her Paper (Crown) Standard and a gold standard with gold currency (Schilling) has been adopted. The indefatigable Mr. Coolidge has announced his intention of summoning a World Conference to discuss the subject of the general return to the gold standard and to devise safe methods for bringing about this object. It is imperative then to understand the merits and demerits of the gold standard system and whether economic salvation can be attained by a return to the pre-war gold standard.

The characteristics of the pre-war Gold Standard system.

The pre-war Gold Standard system was more or less a banking standard which consisted of bank promises to pay gold. The cheque-paying banks created these promises that were readily convertible into gold. All popular writers on the subject of currency emphasise on this point.² Strictly speaking this emphasis deserves some notice and a gold standard, however pure, simple and automatic it might be, always needs a strong Central Bank controlling occasionally a highly organised money market. The pre-war gold standard thus was a paper standard convertible into legal tender gold standard currency and this principle of convertibility sought to make the system not only an automatic one but practically a satisfactory monetary system.

¹ Pursuant to the recommendations of the Kemmerer-Vissering report the Union of South Africa is reverting to the gold standard on July, 1925.

² See Hartley Withers "The Meaning of Money"—Ch. on Cheque Paying Banks.

Economically speaking this exposition is not a satisfactory one. A country can be said to be on the gold standard basis only if it makes gold money available to the people whenever they demand it. Practical conversion and not mere theoretical authorisation of its availability is the touchstone of an efficient Gold Standard system. The people should also possess the right to coin their gold bars or bullion into money. Whether the state bears all charges under the free and gratuitous system of coinage or charges brassage—a cost just enough to cover the expenses of minting, it is immaterial but it is one of the inalienable rights of the people to coin their gold into legal tender money. But as gold is of great value and many of the commodities are of less value than the smallest possible gold coin, token money is employed as a subsidiary means to satisfy the people's demand for a medium in small sales. But it is employed only to a trifling extent and they are all mere subdivisions of the standard gold unit bearing a direct relationship to it. Representative money like bank paper or Treasury Gold certificates might be issued which are the multiples of the standard coins. So far as external relations are concerned the people possess the freedom to export or import gold out of the country. They also possess the freedom to melt all the gold coins they desire for industrial purposes.

It has already been remarked that gold has been selected as the monetary medium of exchange. Its superior qualities of divisibility, homogeneity, durability, and cognisability have established a definite place for it. As each nation began to develop capital and increase it at a rapid rate, the locking up of capital in a gold medium of exchange was rendered possible to a great extent. Also the rise in prices and wages necessitated the selection of a costly metal which would express high value in small bulk. It is this quality that has enabled gold to become the medium of payment of international indebtedness even. The increased findings of gold in the XIXth century led to a large production of it—large enough to satisfy all demand

of the increasing number of countries that were adopting the gold standard. Fifthly, England became the workshop of the world and all countries needed stability of exchange with England, a gold using country. As Prof. Knapp puts it the object of adopting the gold standard system was to enter into stable inter-valutary relations with England. The enormous extension of the gold standard since 1821 is merely an exodromic approach first to England, then to the Western powers in general.¹ "If England had really the silver standard all the European countries would have preferred silver as their standard. Several countries adopted the English monetary system which happened to be the gold standard system and their large demand for it tended to steady its value by spreading it over a wide field." Lastly, the quantity of the existing stock of gold is so large that the annual increments of gold do not appreciably influence the value of the existing gold stock, but the value of the existing gold stock determines the value of the newly produced gold. To quote Dr. Marshall "the annual production of gold is a stream that makes little difference to the volume of a great lake, though it may be changed from a rill into a torrent."² Hence the economists often say that the cost of production does not govern the value of gold as in the case of other commodities but it is the present value that determines the price of future gold. Hence its remarkable steadiness of value. It was not only stable during the course of the long period of the XIXth century but it gave stability to the monetary unit in space too."³ The very quality—that of its largeness which was no doubt tending to steady its value—had certain incidental defects attending on it. As soon as a large part of the monetary demand for gold fell off, as it was the case during the war, the value of gold began to fall down to a low level. In the post war period the value of gold fell by nearly a half of its pre-war level.

¹ See G. Knapp "the State Theory of Money"—p. 278.

² See Dr. Marshall "Money, Credit and Commerce"—p. 54.

³ See R. G. Hawtrey "Monetary Reconstruction"—p. 51.

Operation of the Gold Standard.

There is a consensus of opinion even among expert economists that the gold standard system is an unregulated natural and automatic one free from the control of the government. In short, it was considered as the application of *laissez-faire* in the field of money creation and its utilisation. But there can be nothing more remote than this statement from the actual circumstances of the day. A gold standard is as much a regulated standard as any other monetary standard. The controlling authority might not be the state but it is none the less a controlled one. The control is only delegated to the experts in the field of credit and money—the bankers. The necessary expansion and contraction of the credit media in the gold standard is in the hands of the expert bankers who are strapped down as it were to the gold stock lying in their vaults. Thus the gold standard was a regulated standard always bearing in mind the availability of cash or legal tender money for the prompt and ready conversion of their credit into it. Hence Dr. E. Cannan observes that it is “less fool-proof” and “knave-proof” than the so-called scientific system “the Gold Exchange Standard.”¹

It would not be wrong if the gold standard is declared as the *goldless gold standard*. The old fashioned notion that a gold standard postulates the circulation of a gold currency is no longer adhered to by sane men. Every gold standard country, except perhaps the classical instance of Egypt quoted by Prof. Keynes, economised the use of gold by developing the cheque currency or the bank-note currency as in the case of the European continental countries. Thus all gold standard countries possessed only a highly centralised banking system, economising gold either through cheques or representative bank paper-notes. Thus the gold standard was a

¹ See Dr. E. Cannan's Introduction to Dr. B. B. Ambedkar's, "Problem of the Rupee," p. XII.

goldless gold standard. It was a convertible paper standard. It was a regulated standard—the angle of view with which the said standard was subject to centralised control being the maintenance and preservation of a sufficient stock of gold to support the credit structure of the country. It was a credit standard where the banks, the “manufacturers of credit” are endowed with the privilege of currency creation to meet all increased demands for currency or medium of payment.

This regulated, goldless, credit standard commonly misunderstood as the gold standard broke down during the war period. The outbreak of the war completely altered the position of the banks. Not only did they find their deposits increasing as a result of inflation but they themselves had to subscribe towards state loans during war-time and this meant the reduction of the proportion of their cash to liabilities which would have reduced them to a state of bankruptcy but for the timely removal of the necessity to liquidate their obligations in the specie. No banking machinery would have been equal to deal with such unexampled expansion of credit but for the suspension of specie payments. Logically speaking there was no breakdown of the gold standard in England till the embargo on the exportation of gold outside the country was declared and till the people were practically prohibited to do as they liked with their gold holdings, there was no actual breakdown. Practically however, the appeal to patriotism and such other measures that have been undertaken to check actual demand of gold from the banks are the *de facto* admissions of the practical breakdown of the gold standard. There was no legal declaration admitting the breakdown of the system and the maintenance of the system was meant solely as an “eyewash.” Political reasons also compelled the British Government to maintain the gold standard just to impress on the neutral countries, the great financial strength of England—while Germany had to admit the breakdown of the gold standard immediately on the outbreak

of the war¹ England alone was able to maintain the gold standard in an un mutilated shape.

The weakness of the Gold Standard.

Steadiness is the thing desired in the purchasing power of money and gold standard money, though superior in this respect than any other precious metal used for monetary purposes, is still subject to the great defect of instability in value. Its instability in value can be measured by noting the changes in the price-level. In the long period, however, barring the times of the cyclical fluctuations of trade and industry, the gold standard system was affording a stable monetary value. This fact is admitted even by the opponents of the gold standard system who are bent upon achieving the stabilisation of the price level. But in spite of its instability in value the gold standard does not fail to afford the needed impetus to industry and development of trade. Dr. Marshall says that gold and silver commonly described as "precious metals" were the chief promoters of the voyages and explorations which discovered and opened out the "new world."² Hartley Withers points out that it checks the possible limits in the fluctuations of exchange. This is what Hawtrey meant when he stated that "the gold standard gave to the monetary unit stability in time as well as space too."³ Thirdly, the gold standard always brought about a parallel movement in the course of prices between the different gold standard countries. Recardo was the first economist to point out this fact and the law of the Territorial Distribution of Precious Metals has not been better stated by anyone else. In spite of the defects inherent in the gold standard system the balance of advantage seems to lie in its favour, for no other precious metal or any other substance has been discovered which would be free from all defects and at the same time

¹ See Hartley Withers, "Bankers and Credit," pp. 74, 75; *et seq.*

² Dr. Marshall, "Money Trade and Commerce," p. 51.

³ R. G. Hawtrey "Monetary Reconstruction," p. 51.

afford the needed impetus to industry, trade and human endeavour in all walks of life.

But unfortunately just at present the future value of gold is not known. Its future price depends on the production of gold from new mines or the invention of new processes of mining, the decision of the different countries to come over to the gold standard or to abandon it altogether, the "sloughing off of the hereditary taboo of the Indian Ryot" and the decisions of the London Bankers. The value of gold as in the case of all other commodities tends to remain steady so long as the currency demand remains substantially unchanged. The supply must be equivalent to demand, neither great nor small. Both demand and supply like the blades of a scissors operate jointly in determining the price of a commodity. The case of gold is however a peculiar one. All fluctuations in the value of gold can be corrected to a large extent by the automatic operation of a system of "checks and balances" in the gold standard system. The industrial use of gold is quite an elastic thing.¹ That is, if gold has less value there is greater industrial consumption of it, if it has more value there is less use of it on the industrial side.² But for this safety valve the fluctuations in the value of gold would have been more

¹ W. T. Layton says—"Large quantities of gold are used by industries of various kinds—the proportion which finds its way into the arts, as compared with the amount used as currency, being dependent on the extent of the demand for gold as material at the current value of gold. It is difficult to ascertain how much of the world's supply is used in industry, for gold is continually transferred from one employment to another. But a recent report of the Master of the United States Mint shows that in 1907 the new material for industrial purposes throughout the world amounted to about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the world's production in that year. But this estimate has very little basis and it is largely a matter of conjecture how far the enormous increase in the world's gold supply has had the effect of stimulating gold using industries."

See Datta's Report on the Enquiry into the Rise of Prices in India, pp. 102-3.

The pre-war estimate of the industrial use of gold in India amounted to 10 m. sterling per year. During the recent year the industrial use of gold in America was estimated at 1 m. sterling's worth per month.

² During the war time, the goldsmiths carried on a brisk trade in cheap gold jewellery to enable the working classes to save their increased earnings in that shape. See Sir Stanley Reeds' Evidence before the Babington Smith Committee.

pronounced. This is the real meaning of saying that gold has "intrinsic value." Even granting that there is a greater demand for gold than the forthcoming supply, an efficient banking system can economise the existing gold stock to a great extent. Nowhere has the economy of gold been carried to such an extent as in the London Money Market¹ and prior to the war the bankers became nervous as soon as they discovered that "the economy of gold and cash was almost overdone." Above all the Finance Minister could not prostitute the gold standard system for his own nefarious schemes. Herein lies the superiority of gold to any other metal which can be declared as a monetary unit.

Although the future value of gold is uncertain, it certainly can be controlled by a conjoint action of the chief gold producing countries on the lines laid down by Dr. Lechfeldt. A syndicate of the chief gold producing countries, namely, the United Kingdom and the United States of America which produce about four-fifths of the world's supply of gold, can anticipate changes in the value of gold and correct them by intelligent action. Just as the Swedish Government regulates the value of tobacco so also this gold producing syndicate can compensate all owners of mines out of its funds who would be forced to give up the production of new gold when its value would fall. Similarly when the value is going to rise it can be prevented by stimulating the production of new gold or by the encouragement of gold substitutes such as paper certificates.² Thus the restoration of the gold standard system can be safely advised as changes in the value of gold can be controlled to a large extent.

The indispensability of the Gold Standard.

An inconvertible paper regulated by the issuing authority paying due heed to the principle underlying the Quantity

¹ Bagehot says "Bombar Street is by far the greatest combination of economical delicacy and power that the world has ever seen."

² See Dr. R. Lechfeldt "Restoration of the World's Currencies."

Theory of Money, can afford an ideal monetary system free from fluctuations or changes in its value. We have the high authority of Prof. Cassel in support of this statement. "A well-regulated paper is better than the metallic standard." But unfortunately the lack of stern morality in impecunious governments who have a fatal temptation to overissue currency is a real impediment in the path. Besides this, paper currencies are purely national in circulation and the regulation of foreign exchange values would be a difficult matter. Even though rapid and arbitrary changes in the internal price level can be remedied by varying the volume of inconvertible paper according to the dictates of an effective Index Number, which itself is a difficult thing to be constructed, small scale oscillations round the selected norm of the price-level would still be the prevailing feature. While this scheme has all the disadvantages attendant on it as in the case of Prof. Fisher's stabilisation scheme,¹ yet it does not possess the merits of the latter. Gold has to be retained perhaps "as a servant and not as a master of mankind." This really is the difference between Prof. Fisher's stabilisation scheme and the pure pre-war gold standard system. Prof. Fisher is clever enough to grasp that gold is a thing that cannot be dispensed with. It has won an accepted position as a regulator and governor of commercial and financial values.

Even the modified scheme of the G. E. standard system which has been advocated by the Genoa International Conference² is not resorted to by any of the continental countries as these are afraid of any political cataclysm leading to the declaration of war at any time and the gold stock stationed in the foreign country would be unavailable at such a juncture. There is no international authority guaranteeing the safety of the funds against the seizure by the enemy government, and lacking a thorough and effective co-operation between the

¹ See Prof. Fisher's "Stabilising the Dollar."

² See Resolution 11—paras. 2 to 5 (Genoa International Conference, Financial Commission).

Central Banks of the different countries, this scheme would not be a very advantageous one, so far as the rehabilitation of sound internal currency arrangements are concerned.

Currency reformers from the time of Prof. Fisher have been advocating a controlled or "managed standard." Prof. Keynes also supposes "that there is no escape from managing the standard", and "the emergencies of the finance minister cannot be strapped down." The stability of sterling prices is important and we cannot wait to alter the price-level after a movement has taken place in the price level. This is virtually the suggestion of Prof. Fisher. But Prof. Keynes goes further than Fisher in declaring that "in the regulation of the price level, the price movement alone as given out by an Ideal Index Number, should not be the sole criterion." The state of employment, the volume of production, the demand for credit, the rate of interest on investments of various types, the volume of new issues, the flow of cash into circulation the statistics of foreign trade and the level of the Exchange should be taken into consideration. The control exercised over the price-level should be a joint-one exercised by the Treasury and the Bank of England. The Gold Reserve is to be entirely separated from the note-issue which should be issued according to the state of trade, employment, bank rate policy, and the treasury bill policy.¹

But the scheme proposes to go further than what the restorers of the gold standard aim at. Prof. Keynes aims to kill two birds at one shot. As the future value of gold is not definitely known and as it would be "beneath England's dignity to be dragged after the chariot wheels of the Federal Reserve Board," the attaining of the pre-war gold standard system alone would not suffice. Its weaknesses should be corrected and the stability of price-level, which promises to establish economic harmony in the society, should be attained at any cost and the Central Bank by a wise "forward Exchange"

¹ See J. M. Keynes, "Tract on Monetary Reform," pp. 128-205.

policy can give stability to the external exchange value of the currency. A *Regulated* standard can attain internal stabilisation of prices and at the same time the exchange value of the currency can be steadied at a given level. Theoretically speaking the managed standard would be a better one than the automatic gold standard but it is an error to suppose that the pre-war gold standard was an unregulated one. Prof. Keynes proposes to regulate the standard with quite a different angle of view and perhaps aims to accomplish too much in his well-constructed scheme. For a successful accomplishment of the scheme wise management is essential and both the Bank of England and the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be wise enough to understand what is definitely required and co-operate with each other to achieve the desirable end. But the bankers have "no faith in the treasury activities in the direction of controlling the currency standard." As one critic says "The Chancellor may be a mediocrity to-day, a genius to-morrow, a man of weak vision, in the administration and of clear and powerful vision in another." Hartley Withers considers that "credit raising may affect prices but lowering would not raise prices," hence credit control to stabilise the price level cannot be considered as an efficacious one. But he considers the bank rate weapon alone to be the agency employed by the bankers in expanding or contracting credit. But it can be supplemented by other measures and reinforced by such extraneous pressure that the object of the bankers can be obtained and in all credit societies where credit performs 98% of the exchange transactions in a society"¹ this method of credit control would be fruitful. But in those countries where a Central Bank has no effective control over an undeveloped money market deflation or contraction of credit cannot be pursued with advantage. Here is a third limitation to Prof. Keynes' managed standard.

[¹ Quoted by F. A. Lavington "The English Capital Market,"

Thus all the proposals for an alternate standard to the gold standard system are difficult and impracticable at the present level of human knowledge in the matter of currency and credit. The interests of the gold producers, the bankers who are the greatest hoarders of gold, and all the existing creditors whose rights are expressed in gold would suffer by a demonetisation of gold and as Hawtrey says "any scheme of monetary reconstruction can never think of gold demonetisation" for the parties who have vested interests in gold circulation are too many, too powerful and the interests at stake are so large that they would leave no stone unturned to restore gold back to the pre-war position. A world-wide propaganda through the medium of the press and platform would be undertaken for this purpose. Hence the demonetisation of gold would be unwise, and impracticable and of too brief a duration that it is worth while not to disturb and confuse society which has only muddled notions in the sphere of currency.

The psychological reason for retaining the gold standard is also a noteworthy one. The gold standard has instilled certain faith among the bankers and the general public. "The simple faith in gold" says Withers "ought not to be destroyed. Gold is a fetish and if you will does the trick." There is no use of crying against the artificiality and irrelevance of the gold standard and waxing eloquent over its deficiencies as Prof. Keynes has done.¹ The world has to go back to the good, bad or indifferent gold standard "not because it is a good standard, but there are no better standards available and again it is better than having no standard at all which is at present the situation in most of the countries." If a Referendum were to be taken every nine out of ten would vote for the gold standard and when such implicit confidence is reposed in it, it is folly to run counter to popular wishes. Right or wrong,

¹ "In truth the gold standard is a barbarous relic," p. 122—"Tract on Monetary Reform."

popular sentiments and popular prejudices have to be respected in the domain of currency. The economic ideal might be scientific, practicable and advantageous to the community in the long run, but an enforced realisation of the ideal against the popular current is only to court disaster or failure.

The restoration of the Gold Standard.

The straight paths towards the restoration of the gold standard have been sufficiently commented upon by all writers and they have been recommended as the only possible method for the restoration of the gold standard. Deflation is advocated for all those countries whose paper standard has not depreciated by more than 10% of their pre-war value; Devaluation for the rest whose currencies have depreciated abnormally. Deflation and Devaluation are the shortest roads that are recommended for the rapid attainment of financial health. Revaluation of Currency, cessation of further inflation and stabilisation of the currency unit for internal and external purposes are not by themselves sufficient to set the nations on their economic feet once more. Along with the rehabilitation of currency and the attainment of sound monetary values, production should be speeded up and more exports should be created. Each individual as well as each nation has to practise thrift and save capital for the resurrection of their broken-down industries and handicrafts. All nations have to give up their excessive unproductive expenditure be it on the army, navy or other purposes and the national revenue should exceed national expenditure so as to leave a balance to be utilised for amortisation purposes. It is not only not necessary that further borrowing should cease but the existing floating unfunded debts should be converted into funded debts and due provision made for the payment of interest as well a part of the debt itself.

Judicious deflation by the financially strong countries nor a proper revaluation of currency bearing in mind their current

value in gold would not accomplish much. It is folly to purchase gold or borrow it from America for currency reserve purposes leaving the unfavourable exchange situation as before. It would only increase the national expenditure and force the states to resort to further borrowing. Hence the first objective should be the restoration of healthy financial situation for without it the resumption of gold standard alone would not be of great utility.

When deflation is practicable.

But neither deflation nor revaluation of the paper at the current value in gold is an easy process. Since the time of Recardo all economic writers condemn "deflation as an evil more worse than inflation." As Keynes says "Inflation by easing the burden of the national debt and stimulating enterprise has a little to throw into the other side of the balance; Deflation has nothing."¹ To quote the exact language of Recardo "no measure could be more inexpedient than to make so violent a change (deflation) in all subsisting engagements."² While recommending the resumption of cash payments in 1822 he remarked as follows: "on a balance of all the advantages and disadvantages of the case it would have been as well to fix the currency at the then value according to which most of the existing contracts had been made; but when the currency was within 5% of its par value he thought they had made the best selection in recurring to the old standard."³ In all countries where the war-time currency depreciation amounted to 10% of the pre-war value, deflation instead of devaluation has been recommended by the financial experts assembled at Genoa. This is the first principle to be borne in mind by the advocates of deflation. Secondly, it should be carried out slowly and

¹ See "Works" p. 408.

² See "Tract on Monetary Reform," p. 149.

³ Recardo's speech in the House of Commons. Debate on the Resumption of Cash Payments, 15th June, 1822.

rapid deflation calling in notes arbitrarily without caring for the demand for currency is only to postpone the happy days of stable monetary values and economic prosperity resulting out of them. Thirdly, deflation should be attempted when it is practicable and the fond expectation that a high bank rate would pull gold from other countries would be defeated. Gold is now sold in the open market and the banks cannot expect to attract it as it used to be the case in the pre-war days. The raising of the bank rate is only a signal for the other banks to restrict credit and co-operate with the Central Bank to restrict credit but this by itself cannot speed up the restoration of the gold standard; nor does it constitute the only item in the programme of deflation. Nextly deflation should be undertaken only by those countries which possess a highly developed banking system controlling a well-organised money market. A weakly organised money market with no effective Central Bank would be unable to co-ordinate the activities of the different individual smaller banks.¹ Lastly, it requires "a peculiar psychological outlook" on the part of the community and under certain social conditions alone would deflation be practicable and supported by the community. The Western individual and competitive outlook in economic matters is opposed to the Eastern social organisation of society which aims to secure social solidarity, mutual support and help. Above all deflation can be carried out only if the financial interests are divorced from the industrial interests and unless the former classes obtain a preponderating influence over the latter deflationary measures can never be executed in that society. Theoretical economists, financial and commercial people, the exporters and the Government itself are the parties that are interested in the stabilisation of prices and the attainment of it by deflation whatever might be the results of such a policy. The opponents of this policy are the industrialists who are not unaware of the advantages

¹ See G. C. Allen, "Economic Journal," Currency and Exchange Policy of Japan, March, 1925.

of inflation and the taxpayers who might murmur to bear the heavy load of taxation. In a country where industrial and financial interests are embedded in the same hands deflation would not be carried out.

The Evils of Deflation.

Firstly, financial health secured through unwise and heavy deflation generally leads to "innumerable bankruptcies and widespread unemployment" for it leads to the restriction of credit and makes businessmen pay higher rates of interest with the necessary consequence that the existing stimulus for production which has already been damped by falling prices, would be removed and businessmen would find it difficult to get on with production for the wage-earners resist any reduction or cut in the payment of wages. Economic justice requires that changes in wages should follow changes in prices. It is not only not true that wages do not rise immediately in response to a rise in prices but it is also untrue to state that wages would be lowered immediately with a fall in prices. Hawtrey points out the difficulties in adjusting wages to changes in prices. The whole brunt of the Trade Union organisation has to be exercised before the employers can be made placable enough to grant higher wages.¹ Similarly the movement for lowering wages would be resisted with all the united force which the labourers can command. Secondly, the policy of deflation means the fleecing of the taxpayer still further, although he has been nearly "bled white" by the inflationary movement. In the language of Withers "it is unwise to add the folly of deflation to the crime of inflation." Thirdly, it means the transferring of wealth to the hands of the investing classes and all holders of present money would be still further enriched at the expense of the general taxpayer. Thus "this inactive section of the society" would be benefited at the expense of the active

¹ See A. C. Pigou, "Wealth and Welfare," Part IV, Ch. V, p. 444, 1912 Edition.

section "and all traders, businessmen, manufacturers, agriculturists and lenders of money" stand to lose if deflation is carried out for quite a *long period* of time. Fourthly, as Prof. Fisher shows, deflation aims to dispense justice to those who have lost their all in the inflationary period owing to the sanctity of contracts being honoured with due observance. For the investing classes deflation means compensatory justice tending to benefit them by paying the same nominal rate of interest mentioned in the contract, although the real rate is much above it owing to the appreciation of money.

But this sort of compensatory justice which deflation seeks to establish is not necessary in the case of all contractual obligations in a society. The majority of the contracts run for a brief period say a year and when deflation lasts long enough these classes are being overpaid and justice becomes injustice by such a procedure. Keynes says "in order to do justice to a minority of creditors a great injustice would be done to a great majority of debtors."¹ Deflationary zeal carried to excess might not result in bloody insurrections as happened in Rome in the days of Aurelian, still disorganisation of industry, widespread unemployment and further fluctuations in currency values would result. The example of Czechoslovakia bears ample testimony to this fact.²

Devaluation.

For those countries that can ill-afford a period of declining prices, severe taxation, repression of industry and of general stagnation, devaluation is the remedy. The Argentine Republic has revalued its monetary unit (peso) at approximately the current value in gold and success attended on this measure.

¹ J. M. Keynes "Tract on Monetary Reform," p. 148.

² The late Dr. Alois Rasin, the minister, succeeded by utilising the proceeds of foreign loans to improve the exchange value of the Czech Crown to a great extent (i.e.) nearly three times the rate which had been touched in the previous year. This policy ended in creating an industrial crisis and a fluctuating standard with the effect that the Czech Crown is not worth a sixth of its pre-war parity.

The evils of devaluation are not of such widespread nature as those of deflation. Devaluation certainly acts as a capital tax on the holders of securities and of property bought at pre-war gold values but at any rate these classes are best able to bear the burden. Although this is "a painless policy" national pride stands in the way of adopting this useful measure. Keynes gives us another reason for the non-acceptance of this policy. "The deflationary zeal of Signior Mussoloni and the other representatives of the continental countries at the Genoa Conference is the real stumbling block for the effective reconstruction of their currency mechanism."¹

The example of England.

English Economists following the lead of Dr. Marshall have been demanding "increasing precision from the instruments which man uses and from money, among others."² The City of London interests of finance and commerce and the great exporting industries of Great Britain who are too anxious to attain prosperous days have advocated the stabilisation of exchange, return to the gold standard, and the policy of deflation. The industrialists and the tax-payers had already become insistent on their demand for relaxing the policy of deflation and the British Government had to steer a middling course amidst these conflicting interests. While the other continental states were more or less pursuing a policy of inflation to wipe out the huge internal loans created during the war-time it thought it unwise on its part to pursue deflation relentlessly at the expense of the industrialist's interests. But as soon as they have realised the willingness of the American people to help them in the restoration of the gold standard they have once again embarked on a policy of deflation and the recent raising of the Bank rate in England to 5% is a significant thing which

¹ See J. M. Keynes "Tract on Monetary Reform," p. 146.

² "Money, Credit and Commerce," p. 53.

should not remain unnoticed. The English people thus have the admirable gift of adapting themselves to the needs of the situation.

This adaptability to the circumstances is a noteworthy feature. Although protectionism received a powerful impetus during the war Great Britain realises full well that her prosperity is dependent on the world's economic activity. No other country in the world is so dependent on the import trade for its necessities as England. This absence of economic autonomy can be proved by the following figures:

Year.	Import Trade.	Food Stuffs.	Raw materials.
1913	£ 768,735,000	£ 290,000,000	£ 282,000,000.
1922	£ 1,003,938,000	£ 472,000,000	£ 298,000,000.
1923	£ 1,098,016,000	£ 511,000,000	£ 325,000,000.

Of this total import trade, the Empire supplies amounted to 24.9% in 1913, 31.6% in 1922 and 29.7% in 1923. Thus two-third of the import trade is with foreign countries. For its wheat, meat and dairy produce, barley, oats and vegetables it is dependent on foreign and colonial imports. 35% of its exports are sent to Europe. The non-European foreign countries absorb about 29% while the Imperial markets absorb only 36%. The following table shows this:¹

	1913.	1922.	1923.
European foreign Markets.	34.6%	35.1%	34.4%
Non-European „ „	28.2%	27.4%	29.3%
Imperial Markets.	37.2%	37.5%	36.3%

In spite of the attempts made at the recent Imperial Conference and the Economic Conference that sat as a sub-committee of it the British public have once more clung to the Cobdenian idea of Free Trade and even the conception of a self-reliant Empire seems to have gained no stronghold

¹ See Board of Trade Journal, March 15, 1923—See also London and Cambridge Economist Service, Monthly Bulletin, February, 23, 1924.

over the British Public in spite of the eloquent appeals of the Prime Ministers of the Dominions.¹ Although the protectionist and the Imperialistic ideas are gradually gaining ground due to the influence of the Round Table, the Empire Development Union and the old Tariff Reform League of Chamberlain and although the present chaotic state of Europe is forcing Great Britain to devote itself to Imperial Trade matters the idea of self-reliant Empire and economic aloofness from Europe can never succeed as a definite ideal with the British masses. This should not be interpreted so as to mean that the value of a united Empire or its raw materials is not understood by them. Even supposing that the British people might be forced to grant Imperial Preference, the mass of exporters, merchants, bankers, and general business men realise that it cannot be to their interests to restrict their source of supplies or markets for the sale of their products.

Coming to the field of politics we find England to be at the crossing of the ways. The star of economic Liberalism has set. The Protectionists and the Imperialists have gained the day and the war itself worked in a large manner towards the revival of the Imperialistic sentiment. Economic internationalism which was the corner-stone of the British Liberal policy has given way "to one of restriction, of privilege and of economic nationalism." From the broad stage of "World Economy" she has fallen into the narrow groove of "Empire Economy."² As the Balfour of Burleigh Committee on Industrial and Commercial policy after the war says "the old pre-war dependence on Germany is no longer to be advocated and a policy of methodical exploitation of Empire Resources as to be undertaken."

It is not the adaptability of their character alone that is the distinguishing feature that has to be noted. They

¹ See the Right Honble Mr. Bruce's speech—"He resents keenly the entry of Russian wheat and Argentine frozen meat in the British Market."

² "The Safeguarding of Industries Act" of 1921.

however cling to the same old-established institutions and methods of doing business provided their reputation is not affected to any extent thereby. In spite of the enormous burdens that a deflationary policy would inflict on them by the Cunliffe Committee the English nation did not shrink in accepting the heavy task imposed on them by the Cunliffe Committee. Austen Chamberlain initiated the first deflationary move and all that England has done in this field can be arranged under the three heads: *A.*—The balancing of the budget by cutting down expenses and increasing taxation was the first feature of their deflationary policy. The following table illustrates the revenue and expenditure of the United Kingdom:

Year.	Receipts.	Expenses.
	(In thousands of £)	
1913-14	198,243	197,493
1918-19	889,020	2,579,301
1919-20	1,339,571	1,665,772
1920-21	1,425,985	1,195,428
1921-22	1,124,880	1,079,186
1922-23	914,912	812,496
1923-24	837,169	788,840
1924-25	794,050	799,026 (Subject to correction)

B.—The reduction of the floating debt by amortising it and funding the floating debt as far as is practicable. The following table shows the reduction of the national debt:—

March 31.	Exterior Debt.	Interior Funded Debt.	Floating Debt.	Total Debt.
	£	£	£	£
1919 ...	1,292,260,157	4,729,961,272	1,412,228,000	7,434,949,429
1920 ...	1,232,359,081	5,287,180,219	1,312,205,000	7,831,744,500
1921 ...	1,132,006,852	5,178,072,838	1,275,320,000	7,585,409,690
1922 ...	1,087,158,658	5,564,620,951	1,024,515,000	7,676,295,109
1923 ...	1,157,406,868	5,805,082,139	809,907,500	7,772,396,507
1924 ...	1,125,813,000	5,780,195,000	774,476,000	7,680,484,000

C.—The Government carries out the recommendation of the Cunliffe Committee in reducing the Treasury Notes. The following table shows their decrease:—

March 31	(In thousands of pounds sterling.)
1919	957,236
1920	1,107,318
1921	1,120,841
1922	877,214
1923	616,010
1924	588,320

The Government has also insisted on the restriction of the banking credit. The Bank of England raised the Bank rate to 7% in April, 1920, and this forced the borrower to repay the bank loans and this helped the conversion and refunding operations of the British Treasury. This high discount rate attracted foreign capital to a certain extent and made the Americans buy sterling with the necessary result that the exchange value of the p. sterling rose. There was a fall in prices and this facilitated the intentions of the Government and rendered unnecessary the maintenance of a high bank rate with the necessary consequence that it was reduced to 3% in 1922, July.

Although the actual deflation brought about is very small (roughly 10% of the total circulation) still the cessation of inflation had had its desirable effect and the undertaking of the stupendous task of raising heavy resources by taxation to balance the budget produced the necessary confidence in the American financial circles with the result that we find it reflected in a gradual rise of the exchange value of the pound sterling \$3.20 in October, 1920 to \$4.70 in 1923. The diminution of the general purchasing power on account of deflation can be seen in the following table:—

March 31.	Monetary circulation.	(In millions of pounds)	Bank deposit.	Total.
1919	394	2,080	2,483	

1920	...	426	2,554	2,980
1921	...	449	2,696	3,146
1922	...	402	2,721	3,124
1923	...	383	2,528	2,911
1924	...	387	2,463	2,851

The fall in prices brought about in 1921 was not due to deflation but other economic causes and the latter governmental action was only to "consolidate" this movement. This gives support to the view which certain bankers hold as regards deflation. "Deflation after all does not lower prices and in order to see that the legitimate interests of the industrialists do not suffer" these advocate the maintainance of the embargo on gold exportation. The bankers advocate slow deflation so as not to check or retard unduly industrial recovery. Opposed to this school there is another section of bankers which declares that a 10 % bank rate not only sets in a policy of drastic deflation but would reduce the price level, check speculation, and prevent gold exportation out of the country. Although there seems to be a division of opinion among the bankers¹ as regards the advisability of the high bank rate or an embargo on the exportation of gold out of the country the British Government has been wisely retaining the embargo on gold still. Its sole object is "to re-establish the nations credit regardless of all cost or suffering it involves." "The straight and narrow path" of deflationary finance pursued by Great Britain was meant solely to restore the London City to the first position in the world's commerce and finance. With her credit restored once to pre-war normalcy and a stabilised currency established afresh England would once again be the world's clearing house, the loan centre of the world, and the world's greatest centre of entrepot trade. It is the realisation and consciousness of this fact that made England persist in its deflationary activity in spite of the economic crisis brought about by widespread unemployment. It remains to be seen whether England will regain

¹ See the London Economist, April 5th, 1920.

her lost position or whether there would be two financial leaders in the two distinct spheres of influence: London, the financial centre of the Old World and the place for procuring short-term capital requirements; New York, the financial master in the New World and the distributor of long-term loans needed for industrial capitalisation.

(To be continued)

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

THE RAPTURE OF SONG: SOME ASPECTS OF ORIENTAL POETRY

"Songs of dead laughter, songs of love once hot,
Songs of a cup once flushed rose-red with wine,
Songs of a rose whose beauty is forgot,
A nightingale that piped hushed lays divine;
And still a graver music runs beneath
The tender love-notes of those sons of thine,
O Seeker of the Keys of Life and Death."

(G. L. Bell.)

The gamut of Omar Khayyam's praise has been so often run, it ill befits yet another haunter of the vineyard to do homage to his genius. It would not, perhaps, be an exaggeration to say that Omar is the *deus ex machina* round which western knowledge of oriental poetry revolves. He has become a cult, and this being so, I leave him in the pleasant shelter of his famous Bough and let my wordy breeze sough through the cypress-tops of Shiraz, that fair "spot which" made "all other climes forgot" to him whose immortal dust lies now in the garden of Mosalla-Hafiz, the prince of Persian song.

It would seem that all great Eastern poets have found the Universal God. I refer more especially to the Persian and Indian Schools. The tendency of Chinese and Japanese poetry is not essentially a religious one. The Mongoloid emphasizes the everyday aspects of life and lays his song offerings on the altar of friendship, rather than at the feet of Venus.

"Shang' Ya!

I want to be your friend

For ever and ever without break or decay.

When the hills are all flat

And the rivers are all dry,

When it lightens and thunders in winter,

When it rains and snows in summer,
 When Heaven and Earth mingle—
 Not till then will I part from you." (*Waley*)

All Orientals are philosophers, but the Persians were also mystics, and this mysticism was the natural outcome of their conditions of life. The instability of this present existence led to the cultivation of philosophy, and this strain of the uncertainty of life runs through and controls the feeling of all Hafiz' works. Nevertheless his belief in a future Paradise is tempered with a love of the world of Now which obtrudes itself in his poems through a thick-set hedge of Sufistic *double-entendres*.

"Bring, bring the cup! drink we while yet we may....."

This Sufistic tendency on his part has led to never-ending complications and disputes as to when hidden meanings are intended and when they are not. Taken literally, Hafiz certainly justified Shah Shuja's accusation that he intermixed the fleshpots of life with the prophecies of mysticism. It is a vexed question, but he himself says:

"The writings on the pages of the Rose
 (*For readers are not all interpreters*)
 Only the Nightingale may understand."

At one period of his life when his orthodoxy was in question these interpretations stood his disciples in good stead, for they served as a peg upon which to hang the mantle of his self-defence, and possibly this momentary exaggeration led to the establishment of a fixed code. Certainly his conception of God is a modern one as opposed to the vengeful Jehovah of the Semites. Love is

"Where the turban'd anchorite
 Chanteth Allah day and night.
 Church-bells ring the call to prayer
 And the Cross of Christ is there."

The noble aim of Sufism is the Union of man with God, the merging of one into the Other.

"The Beloved is in every heart that beats." (*Puran Singh*)

Hafiz was alive to the ultimate destinies of empires—

"The powers of the world endure for an hour

But nought shall remain of their majesty"

and rebukes Pharasaical self-righteousness—

"Be not too sure of your crown, you who thought

That virtue was easy and recompense yours;"

He was opposed to monastical asceticism

"Proud monk spare me homilies, pray!

I from virtue am far, far astray.

Yes; but Heav'n to which thou hast no key.

Opens wide to poor sinners like me!"

He was a Beauty-worshipper in the highest sense, seeking God in Nature, finding his joy in the spicy breezes that played among the roses and tulips of his Persian garden, seeing the reflection of the Beloved in the streams that made chess-board patterns of the sun-scorched grass. His poems reflect at times a kindly sarcasm, a Dickensian attitude towards the foibles of his fellow-beings. They bespeak also a wide charity, a developed toleration, and have played Delphic oracle to doubtful minds. The transience of life of which he sings has its counterpart in most Eastern poetry, the oriental mind being attuned through centuries of patient thought to the littleness of humanity as compared with the vastness of the Infinite.

"Even as this passing life of ours

The Cherry-blossoms fair display!

Scarce have we gazed in fragrant showers

Of petals, from the wind-tossed spray,

The blossoms' beauties fade away" (*C. A. Walsh*)

Sings a Japanese poet. It is the spirit of the East, this calm and meditative acceptance of a fate unknown. It is

the impregnable barrier between East and West, for the West is progress and the East is wisdom, and if each would take a modicum from each, then might we indeed reach those Wellsian Utopias which some decry and others praise. The East is indeed like unto a lovely woman, so full of subtleties, of moods and whimsicalities, of mother-love and passion, of bitterness and joy. We quarrel with her but we cannot do without her. We have married her, but we do not understand her thoroughly because, like a woman, she is a mass of contradictions.

There was another singer of Shiraz-Maslah-uldin Sa'di—who said

“Yesterday is gone, To-morrow not yet come. Do thou waylay Opportunity, O Sa'di! Make the utmost of To-day”

Which is a direct refutation of the theory of the instability of this world. It is all very muddling, but one fact emerges clearly from all the chaos of conflicting thought, namely—that the East has attained the heights of true Spirituality and doubtless these varied opinions are but the result of the mood of the moment. The man who stands on a hill-top at dawn watching the rising glory of the sun and noting all the varied delights of Nature's awakening will feel considerably more “in tune with the Infinite” than the man who is sweating over greasy machinery in a fog-begrimed and deafening atmosphere of industrial prosperity. External influences are as magnets drawing forth the metal of a poet's mentality and “we that with song on pilgrimage beguile...” (*Abu'l-ala*) are very much the slaves of our temporary emotions. But unity of religious thought is surely the sign of a great mind and true religion springs from the heart.

“Some pay their worship at the Ka'ba shrine,
Some pray within the Temple Courts apart,
But, Makhfi, think what secret joy is thine,
To hear thine idol ever in thy heart.”

So Zeb-un-Nissa, daughter of the Moghul Emperor, Aurungzeb, and herself no mean poetess. God is not confined to the Temple or the Mosque. God is everywhere.

"Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads! Whom dost thou worship in this lonely dark corner of a temple with doors all shut? Open thine eyes and see thy God is not before thee.

He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the path-maker is breaking stones. He is with them in sun and shower, and His garment is covered with dust..... He is bound with us all for ever. Come out of thy meditation and leave aside the flowers and incense..." (*Tagore*.)

Revolt against concrete symbolism, a desire for abstract conception, these are the keynotes of oriental poesy. In the West religious thought rarely obtrudes itself between the bars of song. In the East, religion being a part of the daily life, what so natural as to sing about it?

"Here in my soul the feast of God is laid

Within the hidden chambers of my heart." (*Zeb-un-Nissa*).

Religion is a natural thing, as inseparable from routine as skin from the human body.

"I found the shrine where I am one with Thee," exults Jami, another Sufi poet. One could, indeed, quote for ever, for from practically every Eastern poet, ancient or modern, there springs some line which upholds this doctrine of Universality and One-ness. Possibly these Persian mystics foresaw more than we materialistic Westerners because their hearts and minds and souls were, and are, soaked in a solution of spiritual philosophy which can only be attained through ages of self-discipline and control. I think they laugh up their sleeves at our so-called advancement, knowing they have achieved more inwardly than we, with all our feverish haste, can ever give to outward showing. There is such depth in Eastern poetry. It means so much more than

mere strings of words. It contains the concentrated essence of poet-brains mightier than any sermons, homilies or dogmatic creeds, because it is the voice of the Soul, and the voice of the Soul is the Voice of God Himself. "Oh what use to turn the beads in my hands, if my heart, like the earth turns not around its Sun, in its eternal journey unbroken step by step." (*Puran Singh*.)

So far I have dwelt on the spiritual aspects of Eastern poetry. It is difficult, indeed, to separate oneself from this aspect, so bound up is it with Eastern poetic thought. There is, however, another side—a material side, though tinged with the ideal to these "heart songs of poets"—*in praise of feminine beauty*. What more exquisite than the following extract from a Burmese love-song, quoted by H. Fielding in his "Soul of a People." "The moon wooed the lotus in the night, the lotus was wooed by the moon, and my sweetheart is their child. The blossom opened in the night and she came forth; the petals moved and she was born. She is more beautiful than any blossom; her face is as delicate as the dusk; her hair is as night falling over the hills; her skin is as bright as the diamond...In the whole world there is none anywhere to compare unto her."

Or this came from the Japanese

"Standing, her beauty holds
The peony's white loveliness;
Seated, her robe enfolds
Charms that surpass in graciousness
The Botan in its pride,
And when she walks in silk array
Abashed the fragile poppies sway
In slender grace outvied." (*C. A. Walsh*.)

Life without woman is incomplete. There is no false modesty in Oriental tributes to female beauty, just as there is often an outspokenness in oriental conversation which yet

gives no offence because it is so spontaneously natural and so naturally beautiful. The Oriental is so close to Nature he feels her warm breath on his cheek. "Four things," said Abu Nuwas, of the time of Harun-âr-Raschid, "banish grief and care." They are "water, wine, gardens bright and faces fair." Zeb-un-Nissa echoed this enumeration on a famous occasion when her ambitious father overheard her and she was constrained speedily to alter the burden of her song. It is, indeed, a very complete summary of the earthly Paradise conceived by a people to whom love, whether human or divine is the be-all and end-all of existence; to whom flowers are a symbol of God-like perfection and wine, though often forbidden, the hashish-path to sublimity of thought. As one reads the passion-stirred songs of these olive-skinned children of the sun, one feels with Constance Renshaw.

"Oh! loveliness shall move again
 My heart's deep tears,
 And all the buried dreams shall stir,
 And hopes long-fled....."

"Buried dreams".....hidden within the ashes of the practical, till comes the rake of these "Sultans of Song" and unearths the heart-chords of memory to play accompaniment to a swaying tune of life and death laughter and tears.

....."The lilt of a bulbul, the laugh of a rose,
 The dance of the dew on the wings of a moonbeam....."

(*Naidu.*)

This world is good so long as we remember it is God's world.

"This world is Heaven, the winds and waters speak, and every blade of grass whispers its joy." (*Puran Singh.*)

Nature sends her message through these lovely mediums and a beautiful woman is her greatest triumph straight from

the "garden of Heaven," born for fresh creation, a flower to produce more flowers, a warm, living thing, glowing with the radiance of her own self-knowledge divinely conscious of her innate power. So these velvet-eyed *houris* of Ispahan and Kandahar have been immortalised by Persian Herricks, and the almond-eyed, billowy-sleeved ladies of Mongoloid classics are as real to-day as ever they were when Ming Huang conjured up visions of his lost, dead love, the beauteous Yang Kuei-fei.

"Ou sont les reines d'autant?"

The Chinese maiden was not immune from her native Mrs. Grundy.

"I pray you, dear,

Steal not my garden down,

Nor break my sandal-trees; Nor that I care for those,

But, oh! I dread the talk of town.

Should lovers have their wilful way,

Whatever would the neighbours say?"

(*Confucius : Cranmer-Byng.*)

This verse might have stepped from out of the pages of Austin Dobson. It is essentially modern, yet quaintly prudish, and an excellent answer to those who belaud the progressive Present at the expense of the "uncivilized" Past. It is a tribe saying that the East is changeless and the reply to that saying is equally trite, namely, that there is nothing new under the sun and gossip endureth for ever.

Persian myth abounds with tales of hopeless love; poets lament through countless pages the cruelty of their dimpled mistresses. Eastern love is an unknown quantity to Western minds. The West does not take the trouble to understand these people.

"Who hold that love is a sacred flame,

Outward beauty a God-like dower." (*Laurence Hope.*)

Love is universal, the redeemer, the conqueror.

learned the art of self-control and mastered the science of happiness," it makes one wonder whether we of the West are not, after all, mere children in our ambitious haste to grasp all the toys of life. With Laurence Hope, "Perhaps I do not value things Western as I ought," but a journey on these Eastern highways of thought seems to emphasize so much that is futile in our present mad search for progress and yet more progress. We have missed the depths and are wading in the shallows among a tangled mass of the weeds of conflicting opinions. Simplicity is lost. We forget that the end of all is dust. We are "a bundle of contradictions—a mass of incongruities—here to-day—gone to-morrow—a thing of no moment—a breath, a puff-ball—a gossamer" (*W. S. Gilbert*). We probe and probe, we succeed scientifically but we lose spiritually. We strut through life in supreme content, whereas the goad of true living is discontent, not in the worst sense of the word, but in a desire for further effort in the beautifying of this present world.

"You of the West still ask the 'Eternal why,'
 Probing the mist-wreaths of religious thought—
 We of the East have sounded depth on depth
 Only to find beneath the deeper depths."

(*Hearn: Walsh.*)

The bottomless well of human effort, the intentional limitations of the human mind condensed into four lines. Not for us the tented dwellings of the nomad, not for us the star-canopied solitudes of the desert, not for us the meditative peace of a *Santi-niketan*. "Only in isolated minds and personalities do we find anything like a corresponding attitude to the Oriental world of ideas" says Laurence Rinyon, and this is undeniably true and very deplorable. The attitude of the West towards Oriental poetry is the attitude of a beggar towards the philanthropist who offers him a Treasury note—suspicious! The so-called sensualism of the East repels

the West. Exotic similes do not appeal to a people who prefer roast beef and Yorkshire pudding to locusts and honey. I have nothing against roast beef; it is a necessity in a country that used to pride itself on its "working man," but let us have a little of the honey intermixed.

I have spoken throughout of the West, but I have meant more particularly England, because no other nation is so content to accept what is given it. This is simply due to that over-abundance of good-nature which had made her name a by-word in international relations and her territory a dumping ground for monarchical failures.

There is much that is far from ideal in Eastern poetry, but there is also much that is truly God-inspired. It is the custom to deplore the conditions obtaining among the women of the East, but the women of the East are the mothers of the world.

"Sweet, the saints shall bless thee.....

Hush, mine arms caress thee,

Hush, my heart doth press thee, sleep,

Till the red dawn dances

Breaking thy soft trances,

Sleep, my Sunalini, sleep!"

sings Sarojini Naidu to her baby. The Japanese mother folds her "little blossoms" in her silk-clad arms; nowhere are children so happy or so free as in Burmah, and it is a simile of Persian poetry that "Night is with child." The Eastern pride of motherhood is a tremendous asset, it is the crown of all feminine desire to her

"Whose hands have cherished, whose love has blest

And cradled fair sons on her faithful breast."—(*Naidu*.)

Marital fidelity has been handed down from the days of mighty Indian epics.

"As the shadow to the substance, to her lord
 his faithful wife,
 And she parts not from her consort till she parts with
 fleeting life."—(*Ramāyana*.)

Self-abnegation, self-sacrifice, ending in the inevitable separation.

"It is the pang of separation that spreads throughout the world and gives birth to shapes innumerable in the infinite sky.

It is this sorrow of separation that gazes in silence all the night from star to star and becomes lyric among rustling leaves in rainy darkness of July.

It is this overspreading pain that deepens into love and desires, into sufferings and joys in human homes; and this it is that ever melts and flows in songs through my poet's heart."—(*Tagore*)

There is something so human, so deeply human, in Eastern poetry—something intimate, warm and understanding. It is as though the spirit of Poetry stood, with outstretched arms, on the edge of the world and said—"Come to me for comfort. I will show you joy and pain, love and hate, passion and convention, heat and cold. I will weld them all into a faery dream and they shall echo through the world the truths of Eastern wisdom, the depths of Eastern thought, the magnitude of Eastern love, the sadness of Eastern destiny."

Life is but transience, the vision of a sleeper; songs are the tombstones in the graveyards of love yet

"Complain not: thou possessest evermore

A holy place;

For look into His Well-beloved Face,

Over His eyes

Arches more fair than Ka'ba gates arise;

Thy heart shalt bend,

Itself an archway welcoming the Friend." (*Zeb-un-Nissa*)

Beauty can never die till Love dies too, and Love is eternal and for ever. So Oriental poetry sends its message down the ages, a beautiful message whose loveliness is not appreciated as it should be because we have hardened our hearts, and lost the Key of the Gate of the Garden of God. Perchance we shall find it again in the days to come when reaction sets in and we tire of mere materialism. Meantime, in the words of one who has found the Open Sesame of Life—

"To priests and to prophets
The joy of their creeds,
To kings and to cohorts,
The glory of deeds,
And peace to the vanquished,
And Hope to the strong,
For me, O my Master,
The Rapture of Song!"—(*Naidu*)

GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

THE BALLAD OF THE FOREIGN MAIL

There are chanties and sea-songs and songs of the West,
There are love-songs and ballads, biting full of zest,
But the song that is different from all the rest,
Is the song of the Foreign Mail.

It's a magic song, a tragic song, a song of glee,
A gay song, a sad song, a song of the free,
—And its message is a message to the heart of me,
The song of the Foreign Mail.

Sailors have chanted it and soldiers too,
Old folk, young-folk, loving and true,
It comes winging like a bird across the ocean blue,
The song of the Foreign Mail.

It breathes of spices from the fairy isles,
Cardamom and Sandalwood in fragrant piles,
Wafting them deliciously a thousand miles,
This song of the Foreign Mail.

Then its hey for the West, boys, and ho for the East,
And a health to be drunk, boys, when the talk has ceased
To a right song, a bright song, a tuneful feast,
The song of the Foreign Mail!

GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

CONFISCATION OF GERMAN PROPERTY IN THE UNITED STATES

Senator Borah has earned the gratitude of all Americans who cherish that American ideal of fair play in dealings with all peoples be preserved in practice, when he asked for the restoration of private property of the Germans which was confiscated by the American Government during the World War, in violation of the principles of International Law. Some arguments have been presented against Senator Borah's proposition, but these do not stand the test of international law and are against American ideals.

In this connection we would like to draw the attention of those Americans, who are anxious to see that International Law survives over the spirit of opportunism, to the latest work of the Hon. Prof. John Bassett Moore of Columbia University, one of the highest authorities on International Law in the world, and who in the past acted for years as a Special Advisor of the U. S. Department of State and now holds the position of one of the Judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice. In his book "International Law and Current Illusions" published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. (1924) Judge Moore condemns the action of confiscating German property in America and quotes the opinion of the great Chief Justice John Marshall who declared

"It is very unusual in cases of conquest, for the conqueror to do more than displace the sovereign and assume dominion over the country. The modern usage of nations, which has become law, would be violated; that sense of justice and of right which is felt and acknowledged by the whole civilized world would be outraged if private property should be generally confiscated, and private rights annulled" (page 19).

Judge Moore very clearly states his position on the subject in the following way:

"When John Quincy Adams, as Secretary of State, affirmed that, 'by the usage of modern war the private

property of enemy is protected from seizure and confiscation as such' he avowed a belief not more tenaciously held by himself than by many illustrious predecessors and successors. It is therefore not strange that the non-confiscatory principles pervades the treaties of the United States, which provide that on the outbreak of war citizens or merchants of the enemy may have six months, nine months, a year, or such time as they may require, in which to arrange their affairs and withdraw their property or effects meanwhile being exempt from seizure or sequestration. There have indeed been Presidents such as Pierce, McKinley and Roosevelt and Secretaries of State such as Adams, Marcy, Fish and Hay, who have proposed that even enemy private property at sea be exempt from capture; and such an exemption actually was incorporated in the treaty with Italy of February 26, 1871, when Grant was President, Fish being Secretary of State.....

"Not long after the outbreak of the recent war, the belligerent governments, one after another, proceeded to assume control of, or, as was generally said, to 'intern' enemy private property found within their jurisdiction. Individuals and property are 'interned' (to prevent them from doing harm). In the present instance the avowed object of taking control of the property was for the time being to prevent its use in the enemy interest, either directly or as a basis for credits or otherwise. Upwards of six months after entering the war, the government of the United States, under certain provisions of the Trading with the Enemy Act which had just then been passed, embarked on a similar course. This was not, nor did it purport to be, an exercise by Congress of its constitutional power 'to make rules concerning captures on-land and water.' The word 'capture' is in law a technical term, denoting the hostile seizure of places, persons or things. Men in arms are 'captured,' but a non-combatant is seized or arrested. A defended city if taken, is said to be 'captured'; if

undefended, it is 'occupied.' Property is said to be 'captured,' only when seized, in a hostile sense, under claim of forfeiture or confiscation. These distinctions are very elementary. The idea of provisionally holding enemy property in custody in order to prevent its use in the enemy interest is by no means new. In England it is at least as old as Magna Carta. No one understood the act of Congress to contemplate a hostile seizure. The very terms of the act preclude such an interpretation. It merely authorised the provisional holding of the property in custody, and appropriately styled the official who was to perform this function, the Alien Property Custodian.

"In the original statute the function of the alien property custodian was defined as that of trustee. Subsequently, however, there came a special revelation, marvellously brilliant, but perhaps not divinely inspired, of the staggering discovery that the foreign traders and manufacturers whose property had been taken over had made their investments in the United States not from the ordinary motives of profit but in pursuance of a hostile design, so steadily pursued that it had never before been detected or suspected, but so deadly in its effects that the American traders and manufacturers were eventually to be engulfed in their own homes and the alien plotters left in grinning possession of the ground. Under the spell engendered by this agitating apparition, and its patriotic call to a retributive but profitable war on the malefactors' property, substantial departures were made from the principle of trusteeship.

"The Preacher has told us that the thing that hath been shall be, that what is done shall be done again, and that 'there is no new thing under the sun.' So it is in the present instance. Hamilton in his denunciation of the principle of confiscation did not overlook those who, as he said, 'then defended the confiscation or sequestration of debts as our best means of retaliation and coercion, as our most powerful,

sometimes our only means, of defense'; and, pursuing his protest he (Hamilton) declared:

"But so degrading an idea will be rejected with disdain, by every man who feels a true and well-informed national pride; by every man who recollects and glories, that in a state of still greater immaturity, we achieved independence without the aid of this dishonorable expedient; and even in a revolutionary war, a war of liberty against usurpation, our national councils were too magnanimous to be provoked or tempted to depart so widely from the path of rectitude; by every man, in fine, who, though careful not to exaggerate, for rash and extra-vagant projects, can nevertheless fairly estimate the real resources of the country, for meeting dangers which prudence cannot avert."

"Such a man would" said Hamilton, "look for the security of the country 'in the courage and constancy of a free, brave and virtuous people—in the riches of a fertile soil—an extended and progressive industry—in the wisdom and energy of a well-constituted and well-administered government—in the resources of a solid, if well-supported national credit—in the armies, which, if requisite, would be raised,—in the means of maritime annoyance, which if necessary, could be organized, and with which deep wounds on the commerce of a hostile nation,' and 'would indulge an animating consciousness, that, while our situation is not such as to justify our courting imprudent enterprises, neither is it such as to oblige us, in any event, to stoop to dishonorable means of security, or to substitute a crooked and piratical policy, for the manly energies of fair and open war.'"

"In the main the momentous question as to what shall be done with the enemy private property taken over by the United States in the recent war is yet to be determined; and with more than \$3,000,000,000 of the world's supply of gold in the coffers of the Federal Reserve System, and continuously tolerated additions to the more than \$11,000,000,000 of tax-

exempt securities already in private hands, the United States is hardly in a position to put forth the plea of financial stress to excuse or palliate the retention of what it seized.

"The subject has another aspect. During the past ten years the investments abroad of the citizens of the United States have enormously increased, and the process has only begun. Considering the question, therefore, purely as one of selfish calculations, I venture to think it directly contrary to the interests of the United States to resuscitate the doctrine that enemy private property found in a country on the outbreak of war may be confiscated. Such a doctrine might even create a temptation."

"But there is yet another and higher reason. The United States has an honorable past as well as an expedient future to consider," (pages 19-24).

Hamilton once said: "The property of a foreigner placed in another country by permission of its laws, may justly be regarded as a deposit, of which the society is the trustee. How can it be reconciled with the idea of trust, to take the property from its owner, when he has personally given no cause for deprivation?" (p. 16).

The Government of the United States is the champion of International Law and its codification. It seems to us that the best way of helping to codify International Law and its application in international relations is to live up to the recognized principles of International Law which has received sanctions for generations.

TARAKNATH DAS

THE SONG OF FREEDOM

I first saw the light when man was Man,
In the dim of the days gone by,
When the jagged arrow and flint-head spear,
Pierced through the skull, and shattered the rear
Of the host that sought with lustful leer
To plunder the race that was nigh.

I rose in power, when tyrants came
To burn, to outrage and kill;
For me the martyrs their lives laid down,
The fetter, the whip and the iron crown,
They boldly endured, for they spurned the frown
Of the godlings menacing still.

When monarchs waded to blood-stained thrones,
My might once more did shine,
And the ranks in the battle were crushed and slain,
And beleagured patriots suffered the pain
Of hunger and ravage, that I might gain
The glory I knew was mine.

And still in the world my power shall grow
Till the heights are reached above,
Till the peoples' voice shall triumph below,
Till the tyrants fall and their thrones shall go,
Then I shall cease; for this I know.
That I shall be merged in Love.

H. W. B. MORENO

CHEMICAL RESEARCH IN INDIA

[*A Rejoinder to Prof. J. F. Thorpe, C.B.E., F.R.S.*]

In the Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, June, 1924, there is a report of a lecture delivered by Prof. J. F. Thorpe on ~~chemical~~ research in India. In the course of the lecture the learned speaker has thought fit to make serious strictures on the method of teaching chemical science in the Calcutta, Dacca and other Universities and has also indulged in damaging and disparaging remarks on the qualifications of those who have been entrusted with the task. The lecture, it is needless to say, has been reproduced *in extenso* in some of the leading Indian dailies. Prof. Thorpe's remarks cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged,—indeed, silence may be construed into acquiescence in all that he has said—*qui ne dicit mot consentit*. I had waited so long in the fond expectation that some *English* chemist or at any rate someone more competent than myself would take pen in hand to reply *seriatim* to the charges levelled against the unfortunate Indian chemists; but as this has not been done I have now most reluctantly taken upon myself this thankless task. We are accustomed to the globe-trotter or Paget M. P. "doing" India in a fortnight's duration and returning home laden with precious information about the land and doling it out to his uninformed countrymen *ad nauseam*. Prof. Thorpe, at any rate, does not belong to this category; he occupies a prominent position in the world of science. He made a tour in India as President of the Chemical Service Committee and had ample opportunities of coming into close contact with some of the teachers of chemistry and notably with his colleague, Sir P. C. Ray; yet he manages to compress within his lecture as many glaring mis-statements and mis-representations as it is possible for any one to do.

I shall begin with some extracts from the lecture:—

".....Many of the Indian Universities provided an adequate course of training in general chemistry, their M.Sc. degree being comparable with our B.Sc. Hons. degree."

"If India is to supply its own research chemists, the universities must not only adequately train their chemistry students in the principles of chemistry, but must also, after graduation, provide a training in research methods of at least one or two years' duration."

".....India is at present poorly equipped to meet any demand for

properly trained chemists and cannot be expected to supply recruits for a chemical service."

".....Hitherto real university scientific work in India has been almost non-existent." "It is significant that no chemist in India holds the Fellowship of the Royal Society." ".....The only institutions carrying out publishable research are the College of Science, Calcutta, the University of Dacca and perhaps one or two others."

Prof. Thorpe has achieved a remarkable feat. In a lecture on "Chemical Research in India" he has forgotten to mention anything relating to the man whose name is indissolubly coupled with it—in fact he has played *Hamlet* with Hamlet's part left out. The name of Sir P. C. RAY no doubt occurs twice or thrice but only as a member of the Chemical Service Committee, who had the misfortune to differ from the majority and sign a minority report in which he vehemently opposed the creation of a new chemical hierarchy. For the last thirty-five years Sir P. C. RAY has been a teacher under the Calcutta University and at least two generations of Indian chemists have been trained and nurtured under his teaching, guidance and inspiration and the Indian School of Chemistry is now recognised both at home and abroad. It would be raking up old history and doing positive injustice to Prof. RAY were I to attempt to give here even a rough outline or sketch of all that this veteran devotee of our favourite science has done. In view, however, of Prof. Thorpe's contemptuous reference to the contributions of Indian chemists I have no option left but to summarise here very briefly the opinions of English and continental chemists on the work of the discoverer of mercurous nitrite and his pupils.

Among the famous chemists of Europe, Sir Henry Roscoe and M. Berthelot were the first to congratulate Dr. RAY and welcome his discovery of the nitrites.

Another most important discovery was the preparation and volatilisation of ammonium nitrite. The *Annual Report on the Progress of Chemistry* issued by the Chemical Society, which embodies the most important contributions on the subject by the chemists throughout the world has noticed in successive issues the significance of the Bengalee chemist's discoveries from 1904 onwards.

Thus in the *Reports* for the years 1905, 1909, 1911, RAY's work on the nitrites of the various metals has received prominent recognition and is described as 'long, painstaking and thorough'; when it is remembered that the *Reports* are from the pen of no less a man than Prof. Baker

("anhydrous" Baker—Prof. Thorpe's colleague) their value is further enhanced.

During his visit to England in 1912 Dr. Rây took advantage of the opportunity to read two papers before the Chemical Society at London. Two short extracts expressing the opinion of eminent chemists on his work are given below:—

"Dr. V. H. Veley in welcoming Prof. Rây said he was an illustrious representative of a great Aryan nation which had attained a high degree of civilisation and discovered many chemical processes when this country was but a dismal swamp. Prof. Rây has shown contrary to text-book statements that ammonium nitrite could be obtained in a stable crystalline condition and volatilised. He concluded by paying a warm tribute to Dr. Rây and his pupils for their valuable researches on ammonium and the amine nitrites. The Chairman also extended on behalf of the Society, a hearty welcome to Prof. Rây endorsing Dr. Veley's remarks."—*The Chemist and Druggist*, June 6, 1912.

"Prof. P. C. Rây has added to his success in preparing ammonium nitrite in a tangible form, a further accomplishment in determining the vapour density of this very fugitive compound."—*Nature*, August 15, 1912.

"In connexion with the University of Calcutta, "extension lectures" are being delivered, and that on January 10, by Dr. P. C. Rây, the Dean of the Faculty of Science in the University, is before us. The lecture consists of a brief resumé of original researches carried out in Bengal in the last 20 years and as an appendix a list of 126 papers contributed to various societies, such as the Chemical Society, American Chemical Society and others is given. Some of these papers are of *very considerable value and interest and indicate enthusiastic work on the part of this newly-created school, which is mainly due to the example and work of Prof. Rây himself*. Prof. Rây's first published work was the *History of Hindu Chemistry*, written about 13 years ago, in which he showed that there were considerable scientific spirit and also more or less empirical works among the ancient Hindus as indicated in their religious writings, *Tantras* etc., written in ancient Sanskrit. It is, of course, only a man like Prof. Rây well-acquainted with Sanskrit and with a thorough knowledge of modern chemistry, who could have written such a work. In this book Prof. Rây deplored the decline of scientific spirit in India and "lamented that the spirit of enquiry had died out amongst a nation naturally prone to speculation and metaphysical studies." He now writes, "Little did I dream that in the course of a decade or so I should have to revise

the estimate I then formed of the capacities of my own countrymen and chronicle that a bright chapter is about to dawn in our life-history." It certainly appears from the present activity of original chemical research in Bengal that a new spirit is abroad, and it is to be hoped that this will quickly spread over the remainder of India and that the same spirit of research will embrace all the other sciences."—*Nature*, March 23, 1916.

"The way in which you have gradually made yourself 'master of the nitrites' is very interesting and the fact that you have established that as a class they are far from being the unstable bodies, chemists had supposed, is an important addition to our knowledge."—Prof. Armstrong, *Presidency College Magazine*, 1914-15, p. 155.

Sir William Ramsay at the end of a lecture by Prof. Rây at one of the evening discourses at the Chemical Society in Burlington House, London, is reported to have remarked; "We had the privilege and pleasure of listening to-night to that eminent Indian chemist whose name is already familiar to us for his most interesting researches on nitrites and who unaided has kept the torch burning in that ancient land of civilisation and learning"—*Presidency College Magazine*, March, 1917.

For the last quarter of a century and more the numerous nitrites discovered by Dr. Rây have occupied much space in such standard works as Dammer's *Anorganische Chemie*, Moissan's *Chimie Minérale*, Abegg's *Handbuch* etc.

I have barely space to mention the important contribution to the history of chemistry made by Dr. P. C. Rây by the publication of his *History of Hindu Chemistry* and I cannot sum up its results better than by the concluding words of the elaborate review which appeared in the *Journal des Savants* from the pen of no less a critic than M. Berthelot: "A new and interesting chapter has been added to the history of sciences and of human progress." The second volume of this work appeared in 1907. I can only make room for the opening lines of the review by the eminent orientalist, M. Sylvain Levy. "The second volume which has just appeared brings to a close this important work. The author is Professor of the Presidency College, Calcutta; his researches have won for him a legitimate fame. His laboratory is the nursery from which issue forth the young chemists of new India. Prof. Rây is also an excellent Sanskritist..... moreover, he is familiar with the languages of the west and is quite at ease with works written in Latin, English, German and French."—*Journal Asiatique* (1907).

The Vice-Chancellor of the Durham University in conferring on

Dr. Rây the honorary degree of D.Sc., said in 1912 : "A keen and successful investigator, he has long made his mark by contributions to scientific periodicals, both English and German, but his fame chiefly rests on his monumental *History of Hindu Chemistry*—a work of which both the scientific and linguistic attainments are equally remarkable, and of which if of any book, we may pronounce that it is definitive."

The late Sir T. E. Thorpe, the famous English chemist, wrote about him in *Nature*, March 6, 1919 :—

"Sir P. C. Rây is well-known to chemists in this country as the author, either alone or in collaboration with his pupils, of more than a hundred papers, chiefly on the inorganic and organic nitrites published in the Transactions of the Chemical Society, in continental journals..... In his own country, he is also known as the founder of a successful chemical industry, which, from small beginnings now occupies factories spreading over an area of eight acres. It is one of the most successful concerns in India, and proved of considerable service to the Government during the war, when the supply of western chemicals and drugs was seriously interfered with. It is entirely staffed with Bengalee workers and its research chemists are of its creator's 'training.'"

He has succeeded in founding a school of native chemists capable of attacking and elucidating the modern scientific problems. He has roused and quickened the Bengalee brain from the torpor, which had overtaken it, and by his example and precept, has proved that the Hindu needs only training, encouragement and direction to revive the ancient glories of his race in philosophy and science. The success of the commercial undertaking, which he initiated, also indicates that the Bengalee is not lacking in power, application, and steadfastness of purpose, needed to conduct successfully a business enterprise."

It would, indeed, be heaping Ossa on Pelion, were I to proceed further. In fact, in having to refer to Dr. Rây's researches, I am naturally reminded of Carlyle's pathetic remarks regarding the immortal bard of his own land : "It seems hard measure that this Scottish man should have to plead like a culprit before the world"

It is not for me to refer at length to the valuable contributions of Prof. P. C. Mitter (Sir P. C. Rây's colleague) in his own branch of organic chemistry.

Prof. Thorpe's further statement that our M.Sc. degree is comparable with the B.Sc. honours degree of the English Universities is not only gratuitous but based upon ignorance of actual facts. Some of the theses

submitted for our M.Sc. degree would be accepted for a doctorate in any European University. Those of R. L. Datta (Jour. Chem. Soc., 1912-13) and of G. C. Chakravarty (J.C.S. 1923. J. Am. Chem. Soc., 1923) may be cited as examples.

Among Dr. Ray's pupils who constitute the Indian School of Chemistry, the names of Rasik Lal Dutta, Nilratan Dhar, Panchanan Neogi, Hemendrakumar Sen, Biman Behari De, Jitendranath Rakshit, Jnanendra-chandra Ghosh, Jnanendranath Mukherjee, Prafullachandra Guha, Jnanendranath Ray etc., deserve prominent mention. They have contributed no less than 200 original papers to the British, American and continental journals. It would be invidious, nay unnecessary, to single out the contributions of any particular investigator, but I may take the liberty to point out that they are something more than mere "publishable researches." As regards the part played by Nilratan Dhar in initiating research in physical chemistry in India, it is enough to quote a few lines from the University extension lecture by Dr. Ray in 1916: "To Mr. Nilratan Dhar, one of the most brilliant among our late pupils, belongs the credit of initiating work in this branch in our country." An account of J. C. Ghosh's work is to be found in standard text-books on *Theoretical Chemistry* by Nernst and *Thermodynamics* by Planck, while Mukherjee's work has been given an important place in Freundlich's standard work, *Kapillarchemie*. Besides, *Nature* (Nov. 4., 1920) in reviewing the discussion at the Faraday Society on colloid chemistry remarks: "Perhaps, the most important paper of the whole discussion, in that it represented a distinct advance in theory was that by Dr. J. N. Mukherjee." Mukherjee's recent papers on soil-acidity open out a new field altogether, and are justly beginning to attract attention. Indeed, Professors Ghosh and Mukherjee may safely be said to have earned an international reputation in their respective branches.

B. B. Dey's and H. K. Sen's researches do not need any special mention, as they worked in the laboratory of the Imperial College of Science for some time, while preparing for the Doctorate of the London University. These young chemists, at any rate, may be forgiven if they regard Prof. Thorpe's reference to the contributions of Indian chemists as the unkindest cut of all. P. C. Guha's work on the intricate constitution of "M. Freund's so-called di-thiourazole" has been highly appreciated by no less an authority than Arndt.

Space does not permit me to proceed further. But I shall be doing injustice to Prof. Watson, lately of the Dacca College, if I pass by the

services rendered by him to the cause of original research in India. Prof. Watson, though "not a Fellow of the Royal Society" has achieved a distinction, which has not as yet fallen to the lot of any European Professor that I know of, in that he has the credit of initiating several Indian workers into the field of research. Prof. Watson's own papers, as also those of his pupils, Anukulechandra Sircar, Profullachandra Ghosh, Sikhibhusan Dutt and others are valuable contributions and they have been referred to at length in the *Annual Reports*.

Prof. B. K. Singh's contributions on the relation between chemical constitution and optical rotatory power also deserve special mention. They are remarkable in their own way and are certainly something more than merely "publishable." Nor is it necessary here to refer to the researches of Professors Bhatnagar, Naik and the late Surendranath Dhar. It passes our comprehension as to how Prof. Thorpe could be in blissful ignorance of the contributions made by the Indian School of Chemists.

Another atrocious crime with which the Indian chemists are charged is that there is not a single member of the fraternity, who can append the glorifying letters, F. R. S. to his name. Prof. Thorpe is evidently ignorant of the "significant fact" that so long ago as 1912 Sir P. C. Ray was proposed for this honour by no less a person than the late Sir Henry Roscoe and a few distinguished colleagues of his. Indeed, writing a few months before his death to his intimate friend "he anxiously looks forward to the election of my R—" (*Vide Sir Edward Thorpe's Life of Roscoe*). The matter has thus acquired a historic importance. At the present moment I suppose there are several hundred fellows of the Royal Society. Can Professor Thorpe lay his hand on his breast and assert that every one of them has been conspicuous by an epoch-making discovery? The present writer in his humble way can claim some acquaintance with chemical literature, English, French, and German and as one who had the privilege of sitting at his feet, he has no difficulty in forming an estimate of the place which Sir P. C. Ray occupies in the chemical world. An incident from Priestley's life may in this connection be recalled. "The majority of members of the Royal Society fought shy of him. Finding that they were rejecting eligible candidates on political ground, he withdrew from attendance and ceased to publish in the *Philosophical Transactions*."—*Dictionary of National Biography*. Another incident from the life of P. G. Tait, at whose feet Sir P. C. Ray sat during his student life in Edinburgh, may also be appositely cited.—"About 1880 the President of the Royal Society suggested

privately to Tait that he should allow his name to be submitted to the Council. Tait, who knew that the name of a valued friend whom he regarded as a genuine man of science had been recently rejected by the Council, replied that he had no pretensions to belong to a Society which was too good for his friend."—*Life and Scientific work of Tait* by C. J. Knott, p. 49.

If Professor Thorpe can sit in judgment on the capacity or rather the incapacity of the Indian chemists, the latter surely are not debafed from exercising the same right. I suppose scientific opinion will readily subscribe to the verdict that if Sir P. C. Ray had done one-tenth of the work which can be credited to him he should have been entitled to the honour. I find, however, that there is a systematic campaign, nay crusade of misrepresentation against Prof. Ray. In his presidential address at the Indian Science Congress, 1917, Sir Alfred Bourne, F. R. S., Director, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, incidentally takes occasion to observe: "There is a professor in this country, who, so I have been told, expects and helps each of his students to 'turn out a research' to use a now common expression, every month. This may or may not be true. If true, it bespeaks a considerable energy; how far it makes for progress authorities on the subject alone can say, at any rate, it may serve as an example how things have changed." One is not at a loss to understand why the unfortunate chemist should be the target of this caustic and gratuitous banter. It is not necessary here to enquire whether the above was said in jest or in earnest. Sir Alfred Bourne, I believe, was a professor of biology at the Presidency College of Madras. But the attraction of the lucrative post of the Director of Public Instruction, Madras, proved too much for him; he bade farewell to his favourite science. On his retirement he was pitch-forked into the Directorship of the Institute of Science—a *quondam* Zoologist, successor of a chemical Director, drawing a princely salary and having precious little to do! Such an arrangement is only possible in unhappy India. Both by his training and age he was incapacitated for doing or initiating chemical research, and he could not tolerate that an Indian chemist should do the same. Hence he vents his rage. An oak transplanted at 50, as Grattan said, cannot be expected to take kindly to a foreign soil. Yet the strange spectacle is offered of researchers on the verge of 60 foisted on the Bangalore Institute of Science as Directors. Sir Alfred could not be expected to know that even in the evening of his life, Sir P. C. Ray, who, by the bye, has all along served on a pay which is one-eighth to one-tenth

of that drawn by the former, keeps his laboratory open for eight to ten hours a day with the thermometer sometime at the boiling point of ether and works generally with 6 or 7 pupils preparing theses, for the M.Sc. and D.Sc. degrees, and most of these have been published in the ordinary course.

Sir P. C. Ray, as President of the Science Congress of 1920, delivered an illuminating address on the "Dawn of Science in Modern India," and incidentally regretted that one reason why science in all the departments has not flourished was the virtual exclusion of the Indians from the superior services of the departments and passionately pleaded for the Indianisation of the scientific departments—for instance, he pointed out that whereas there were 16 appointments in the Geological Survey and 46 in the Trigonometrical Survey, there was not a single Indian in these departments. This innocent and pathetic story revealed in his address was made the occasion of prejudicing Sir P. C. Ray in the estimation of English men of science, *e.g.*, "Sir P. C. Ray has been severely criticised for using a scientific occasion for political purposes"—*Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry*, 1920.

Nobody for a moment contends that England, the land that produced a Newton or a Boyle three centuries ago, has a decided advantage in this respect. It is not a case of the superiority of Indian brain over European or *vice versa*. The competition is really between first-rate Indians and third-rate imported Europeans. In the discussion which followed the reading of Professor Thorpe's article, Sir Thomas Holland naturally felt the awkwardness of the situation created by Professor Thorpe, and he tried to wriggle out of it as best as he could and took occasion to observe: "The published work of the chemists in India was practically negligible beside the hundred and fifty volumes of valuable papers which had been issued by the Geological Survey. The small body of Geological Survey officers in India were seldom without a sprinkling of Fellows of the Royal Society among them; but so far as he knew, in the whole history of India only one chemist had to that extent been recognised by his fellow-workers." The last sentence interpreted means that though Sir P. C. Ray is *not*, yet he is *as good as* a Fellow of the Royal Society. Unfortunately, his vision was clouded and his judgment warped by his close association with a department whose policy has been the rigid exclusion of the Indians from the higher appointments in it and of looking upon India as a close preserve for his own countrymen. In fact, the tradition of the Geological Survey of India cannot be better put forth than in the pious

forecast of the intellectual capacity of Indians by one of his predecessors in the department. "In his Annual Report for the year 1886, Mr. H. B. Medlicott, Director of the Geological Survey of India, explains how it happens that Bengalis have not hitherto been employed in connection with his department. The Survey, he points out, has no duties of a mechanical nature, to which, and through which it would be possible to break in the uninitiated. Its work is strictly scientific and requires the constant exercise upon scanty data of an independent, conscientious and sober judgment.

Now, Mr. Medlicott holds that Bengalis have not yet shown that they are fit for such work as this. 'In Bengal,' he says, 'the word of knowledge has been preached for the last two generations but in no single case has it found the needful germ in which it might come to maturity and bear fruit in original scientific work; it seems only to develop a more obnoxious kind of weed-words of science without substance. In the medical and engineering services they have for long had like teaching and opportunities to those from which Darwin, Huxley, Tynall and a host of others have arisen, but of like result in Bengal there is no symptom even. For a still longer period the practical results of the new knowledge in the shape of material progress have been displayed with ever increasing energy from the West, but neither has this awakened in the Oriental mind a power to do likewise. Of imitation there is no lack, but of creative power there is no sign. If this is not a demonstration on the part of the Bengali of his inaptitude for science, evidence counts for nothing. He would do well to take it to heart if by any means he may correct his failing. Meanwhile, even if there were not particular evidence to confirm it, I hold this as sufficient warrant for objecting to the appointment of natives to the slender staff of the Geological Survey'"—*Nature*, 1887.

The Indian Chemical Service Committee was the outcome of the recommendations of the Indian Industrial Commission over which Sir Thomas Holland presided. The following extract from a review of it from the pen of Sir P. C. Ray furnishes a crushing reply to his views. "There is another strong reason in favour of employing Indian agency, as has been pointed out elsewhere. A European naturally looks to India as a land of exile and his thoughts are always turned homewards. As soon as he joins his appointment, he begins to look forward to his furlough and even during summer holidays he often runs home. Socially speaking, the European lives quite apart and it is only in rare cases that he is found to mix on equal terms with his pupils. The result is that he fails to create anything like an intellectual atmosphere.

"Moreover, the European when he retires from the service leaves India for good, and all the experiences which he gathered during his service of office are clean lost to the country. But the mature experiences of an Indian after retirement are always at the disposal of his countrymen; he is, in fact, a valuable national asset."—*Modern Review*, March, 1919.

"After all, India is progressing and waking up and if her sons to-day are unable to work her own mines, their children or children's children will be able to do so. If, in the meantime all the mining rights and concessions in Burma and Assam and other provinces of India proper are leased out to foreign exploiters nothing will be left for future generations. The late Mr. Gokhale often used to tell the present writer that the greatest injury which the British Government is inflicting on this unhappy land—an injury which is beyond her power of recuperation—is the slow but continuous exhaustion of her mineral wealth. As the *Statesman* put this point with great clearness: "In the case of the mining industry, for instance, it (*i.e.*, the development of the country's resources by English capital) means not merely that the children of the soil must be content for the time being with the hired labourer's share of the wealth extracted but that the exportation of the remainder involves a loss which can never be repaired. Though the blame largely rests with them, we can well understand the jealousy with which the people of the country regard the exhaustion, mainly for the benefit of the foreign capitalist, of wealth which can never, as in the case of agriculture, be reproduced. It is, in short, no mere foolish delusion, but an unquestionable economic truth that every ounce of gold that leaves the country, so far as it is represented by no economic return, and a large percentage of the gold extracted by foreign capital as represented by no such return, implies permanent loss."—*Ibid.*

What Sir P. C. Rây said has been reiterated by several Indian leaders of thought. The late Mr. B. N. Basu, himself an ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, once bitterly complained in the Bengal Council Chamber that "raw, callow British youths, with no original work to their credit" were often placed over the head of veterans like P. C. Rây, for no other fault of the latter than the crime of colour. Another ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, who enjoys the respect and confidence of the Government for the moderation of his views expresses himself as follows in his evidence before the recent Lee Commission: "the price that India has to pay for appointing I.M.S. officers as civil medical servants, particularly as teachers, must not be computed in terms of money alone. It proves too heavy not only because of our limited resources, but also.

because of the cramping effect that the present system produces on the Indian mind. The system has systematically deprived Indians of opportunities of higher research and higher training and the great benefit of first-hand experience by keeping the higher posts, educational, research or clinical—almost as a close preserve for a practically foreign class. The whole atmosphere is humiliating to Indians. A system that seeks to train the flower of our youth merely as assistants and subordinates (the very natural idea of being succeeded in his chair by one of his pupils being unthinkable to the average I.M.S. professor), cannot certainly be appreciated as an ideal system."

Again, "if the pledge given by the British Government regarding increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration is to be given effect to, the process of Indianisation of the higher appointments should be on a more rapid scale than hitherto."

Prof. Thorpe also coolly ignores the fact that Sir P. C. Ray has not only been a life-long investigator but also an industrialist. If anybody realises the connection between research work and its translation into actuality, it is he. As Prof. Armstrong in reviewing the report of the Chemical Service Committee in India in the columns of *Nature* (July 29, 1920) observes, "Sir P. C. Ray's opinion must carry great weight not only on account of his long experience and his distinction as a teacher and investigator but also because of his familiarity with industrial requirements and possibilities, he having long been connected with the management of a chemical works which he was instrumental in establishing. The present writer had the opportunity of visiting this works when in Calcutta in November, 1914 and was much struck by the ingenuity displayed in the construction of the plant. Various heavy chemicals were being made, including sulphuric acid in substantial quantities."

Prof. Thorpe, I believe, visited Sir P. C. Ray's chemical works and expressed his admiration at the remarkable success it has achieved. It is to be regretted he clean forgot to mention it. If his memory had not failed him he would have realised that Sir P. C. Ray and some of his pupils at any rate know how to apply chemical knowledge to industrial purposes.

As Dr. Travers also had an occasion to observe: "The construction and management of the works is the work of the past students from the chemistry department of the Presidency College acting under the advice of these gentlemen. The design and construction of the sulphuric acid plant and of the plant required for the preparation of drugs and other products involved a large amount of research work of the kind which is likely to be

of the greatest service to this country and does the greatest credit to those concerned."

Prof. Thorpe holds the view that real university teaching does not exist in India. If it were so, the blame lies entirely with the Government and the English teachers, who have been imported into this country to mould the educational system at an exorbitant remuneration. It is only very recently that the higher teaching posts have been partially thrown open to Indians, and Indians have obtained a voice in the management of the University with what results it is not for me to labour to point out.

Prof. Armstrong who took part in the discussion which followed the reading of Prof. Thorpe's paper incidentally observed: "So far as he personally could see the mentality of the Eastern nations was not such as to make them equal to the Western as experimental workers." Prof. Armstrong's remarks were "marred in part at least by a lack of imaginative sympathy due to the constitutional inability of the western mind to place itself even for a moment at the Indian standpoint." Prof. Armstrong forgets that ancient India was the cradle of mathematical sciences including arithmetic and algebra and Asia is the birthplace of the founders of the great religious systems and ethics--Buddha, Christ, Mahomet, Confucius etc. Imagine what would happen to England if a foreign power, say Japan, were to seize her and hold her in her tight grip and take good care rigidly to exclude Englishmen from every post of responsibility and reduce them to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water. Where would their initiative and resourcefulness go? To an impartial observer the wonder would be not that so little has been done but that so much has been achieved under the paralysing and benumbing effects of the existing regime. I feel tempted to quote the eloquent words of a great American writer who was provoked beyond his patience. "But why are we so exquisitely alive to the aspersions of England? Why do we suffer ourselves to be so affected by the contumely she has endeavoured to cast upon us? It is not in the opinion of England alone that honour lives and reputation has its being. The world at large is the arbiter of a nation's fame. With its thousand eyes it witnesses a nation's deeds and from the collective testimony is national glory or national disgrace established."—Washington Irving. I again repeat, "the world at large" will judge whether the author of one hundred original contributions and inspirer of a couple of hundred more should have been denied the recognition which Roscoe earnestly sought for him. I ask Prof. Thorpe again how he would appraise a Japanese or, for the matter of that, a Dutch, German or American chemist, who being

outside the British Empire cannot ever have the mystic letters appended to their names? The present writer has had access to the numerous letters written by Roscoe and a few more eminent English chemists in which they express their surprise, nay indignation, at the treatment accorded to the Indian chemist, but as he has not the permission he is precluded from giving publicity to them. One who can speak with authority on the subject wrote a couple of years ago with almost prophetic vision in an Indian Journal:—

“This address (delivered by Sir P. C. Ray at the Science Congress at Nagpur) has done more for the cause of science in India than possibly all his chemical researches and it is an open secret and known to all who have watched the trend of events in the English scientific world that he has had to suffer for it.” Indeed, it is not difficult to realize why Professor Ray should be the *bête noir* of a certain section of English chemists. He had been guilty of the unforgivable offence of standing up for the claims of his own countrymen.

A tree is known by its fruits, and the Indian School of Chemistry gives the lie direct to Prof. Thorpe's charge of non-existence of real university teaching in India.

It would be superfluous for me to add to the tribute paid by competent authorities; but what his pupils themselves *feel* for him and the work he has done will be apparent from the eloquent words of Mr. F. V. Fernandez, M.Sc.—“It is he who, to the nation of metaphysicians and visionaries, has added the lustre of a school of experimental and inductive scientists. The man who has accomplished these things cannot be ignored by his countrymen. India offers the tribute of respect to her illustrious son, the founder of the Indian School of Chemistry, Prof. Praphulla Chandra Ray.”—*Presidency College Magazine*, 1914.

Lord Ronaldshay, late Governor of Bengal, in his Convocation Address before the Calcutta University referred to Dr. Ray's method of teaching in the following words—“But the University is handicapped in having to confine its teachings to post-graduate students. Let me illustrate what I mean. So long as the University is thus restricted, a teacher of eminence like Sir P. C. Ray has no chance of bringing his influence to bear upon any but mature students who have already obtained their degrees. That constitutes a loss both to Sir P. C. Ray himself and to a large number of young scientists who might benefit immeasurably from his activity if the system permitted him the wider scope which it is the object of the recommendations of the University Commission to give.”

Professor Thorpe has no conception of the almost insuperable difficulties we have to contend with—no suitable careers are at present open to our science graduates ; already there is an overproduction of M.Sc.'s both at the Calcutta and Dacca Universities, not to speak of the universities outside this province. India is essentially an agricultural country ; there are no big industries worth the name to absorb even a fraction of the science graduates turned out by us. Moreover, the policy of rigid exclusion of Indians from the higher scientific departments has had a baneful effect and deprives them of all the opportunities in life by which they can make a reputation in the scientific world. Again, distrust of the Indian based upon political consideration is another stumbling block. Imagine what would happen to English chemists to-day if a foreign conqueror were to exclude every English chemist from the chemical warfare department.

I have written the above more in sorrow, nay in deep anguish of mind, than in anger. Prof. Thorpe was so much enamoured of the benefits of the chemical service that he could not possibly forgive Sir P. C. Ray for the strong attitude he took up. It is, however, noteworthy that almost at the moment when the latter was writing his minority report some eminent English men of science headed by Prof. Soddy were voicing in the columns of *Nature* practically the identical views. Again, by a bitter irony of fate, while Prof. Thorpe was indulging in scornful banter and proclaiming before a cultured London audience the inefficiency of the Indian chemists, the latter were seriously thinking of starting an Indian Chemical Society with an organ of its own. Whether Prof. Thorpe will now make the *amende honorable* or persist in maintaining his position remains to be seen.

PRIYADARANAN RAY

THE HAPLESS MOTHER

I.

"Lovest thou thy hapless Mother?"

"Darest thou that ask?

Fiery love consumes my heart,

Smile on lip's a mask."

II.

"Lovest thou thy Mother sure,

But dost thou believe

Crimson gifts of hate-fed sin

Smiling she'll receive?

Open thine eyes, hide not thy face,

Say who is now her true disgrace?

Ponder well, of this be sure,

Crusht is love by gifts impure."

III.

"In world of fools the greatest I

To talk of love, bright, pure!

Do I an atom of what I say?

True answer is—"Not sure."

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

ASOKA *

(A Review)

No book can afford a better example of what valuable information a close and comparative study of epigraphic and other allied records of any particular period of Indian history can bring to light, and of what a Professor of Indian History and Culture has to place as a model of research work before research scholars in a Research Institute like that of the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University. In each of the eight chapters devoted to the description of (1) Asoka's Early Life, (2) his Empire and Administration, (3) his conduct as a Buddhist, (4-6) his views on Dhamma which, besides observing himself, he preached to the world at large without wounding the religious feelings of the followers of other cults and faiths, and (7-8) an estimate of his place in history together with a translation of his inscriptions, the author has clearly exhibited the deep and patient study he has made of the long familiar materials in unearthing fresh and yet reliable historical facts. Besides bringing a number of new facts to light the learned author has been suggestive enough in showing where the materials are capable of further touch and recasting to elicit still more information.

According to Indian rhetoricians, the one important lesson to be learnt from the study of history or literature is the avoidance of the evil and the adoption of the good. They say that a reading of the Ramayana ought to convince the reader that one should live like Rama, but never like Ravana, the chief characteristics of the former being obedience to parents at all costs, faithfulness towards wife, chastity and truthfulness, and the reverse of the latter. Accordingly the

* *Asoka*, a series of the Carmichael Lectures, 1923 (pp xviii + 348) by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Calcutta University Press, 1925.

one lesson which must engage our close attention in our study of Asoka is in the words of the learned author "the essence of religion"; and, "to perceive it in all religions and single it out for practice, and to study and weigh impartially and dispassionately their ritual and theology in regard to the relation of man with nature is what the royal prophet of the third century B.C. teaches us. How grand and convincing this message and how indispensable even to the present times! If we but devoutly follow the words of this master mind and study not only Hinduism and Muhammadanism but also Christianity, Zoroastrianism and even Fetichism, how rich and exalted the world will be both spiritually and intellectually."

"And materially" may also be added here for the essence of all religions consists in what Asoka calls "*apavyayātā* and *apabhādatā*," avoidance of extravagant expenditure and of accumulation of wealth implying thereby even distribution of wealth and of the means to acquire wealth. If the Muhammadans shut their eyes to the idolatry of the Hindus, and the latter to the animal slaughter of the former and cultivate the habit of appreciating the inner essence common to both Hinduism and Muhammadanism, there can possibly be no occasion for any religious feuds between them. Similarly if European Christians return to their old puritanic love of humanity consisting of Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of man which is an underlying feature of almost all religions, and shut their eyes to distinctions of colour, abandoning at the same time the unspiritual and unmoral greed which seeks to monopolise the whole earth for the white race, who can doubt that peace will reign supreme on earth as in heaven. It may be asserted that the white race can convert the earth into a heaven or a hell according as it follows or discards Asoka's Dhamma, the moral essence of all religions inclusive of Christianity, which, as pointed out by the learned author, owes much to Buddhism.

Contrary to the conviction of scholars that the concept of heaven is unknown to Buddhism, there is clearly described the idea of Svarga-world in the inscriptions. But whether Asoka imported it into Buddhism and prevailed upon the Buddhists to accept it without dispute, or whether just like the Jainas the Buddhists believed in a number of upper and lower worlds, notwithstanding their disbelief in an almighty Creator of the world, are questions that cannot be easily settled.

No less difficult is the solution of the doubt whether in his attempt to conquer the world and set peace to reign in it by spiritual means, Asoka has or has not left India too weak to repel foreign invasions. Who can say whether the world will advance in its philosophical culture so as to shake off all its savage instincts and settle its disputes for bread by judicial and spiritual means, or whether its selfish animal impulses will begin to prevail over its cultural and spiritual self-denial, as in South Africa and other British Colonies; and in future engender a racial war for bread and self-preservation? For this reason one may hesitate to accept the author's opinion that Asoka's observance of the principle of Dharma-Vijaya has rendered India too effeminate to repel foreign attacks.

The interpretation of some words in the inscriptions of Asoka cannot, as stated by the author himself, be taken to be final. The word 'avihisa' (p. 101) does not mean non-injury. It is equivalent to the Sanskrit word 'abibhisha' meaning 'abhaya' or cessation of frightfulness.

Likewise 'Vyutha' cannot be Vyushta, early dawn. It seems to be equivalent to Sanskrit 'Vyūtha,' band of men or officers.

'Asinava' is another difficult word. The learned author's suggestion to identify it with the word *āsrava*, a technical term of the Jainas meaning the flow of sinful ideas into the mind, seems to be right so far as the sense is concerned. But the only difficulty in this case is the syllable 'na,' which is not

found in 'asrva.' The word 'Āsravana,' which means the same thing, seems to correspond to it better.

These are in no way defects of the work but rather its merits inasmuch as they tend to give a stimulus to the reader for further research. As a model of original research based upon a more rational interpretation of all available historical facts, the work deserves to be a text-book and can very well replace other works on the same subject.

I may conclude my review of this excellent original work of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar with the words of the well-known French savant, M. Senart. In a letter addressed to the author he says:

"I am grateful because it has brought me a brilliant example of the ingenious and passionate skill with which modern India endeavours to reconstruct its past." "It is a marvel of a singular power that by throwing light on the monuments with the help of books you (the author) have enlivened your picture."

R. SHAMA SASTRY

THE TRANSFORMING POWER OF LOVE

Older than all the gods am I, yet younger than them all,
 Before time was, or space, or sky, I from that Cause didst fall—
 That Causeless Cause, whom men name God, whose Spirit brooded o'er
 Chaos and darkness, where He trod, whose waters had no shore—
 He yearned, and from His open Heart, I fell, the Cosmic seed...
 Destined Creative Laws to start, I life vibrations freed.
 I came when life and beauty came, and stars and suns above—
 I came to bear the sacred flame, and I am known as Love.

Love is the most potent force in the Universe—Love is the feminine principle of God's sublime Ego, by which was created the solar systems and the inhabitants thereof... Love is the All for God is Love.

Well might the great Seer cry, "Though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not love, I am nothing. Love never faileth: but whether there be prophecies they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away."

So, Love is of the Spirit, and the one thing eternal and worth while.

Love, or Spirit, is masculine, as Soul is feminine, and the two must be united to create Beauty, Truth or Power, which are all attributes of God, the Omnipotent, Omnipresent, Omniscient *Om*!

Psyche, or the Soul, had to suffer, had to be tried and tested, had to learn to cast out all fear and to have boundless trust, ere she became One with Eros, or Love, and was immortalized by the union. Walter Pater most beautifully tells the story.

This God of Love is represented as a beautiful youth with wings; Love must have wings and youth and beauty... Love

must be able to send the fire-tipped arrows with unerring aim, through any obstruction or cloud to find the Beloved. Hence our love-thoughts are arrows, and when intelligently directed we can send them much further than the telephone can reach, or the wireless telegraph can communicate. Telepathy is the power, Thought is the dynamore—but Intelligence must direct the sending of the message.

The vibrations of love are rose-colour, and clairvoyants have seen thought-forms emanate from the brain of the lover and shoot with unerring aim into space, like one of Cupid's arrows, to find the one to whom it was directed.

The power of vibration is limitless, and, a knowledge of how to use the marvellous forces with which man is endowed is to become God-like.

How then can we intelligently use this transforming power of love? Only by transmuting the base metals of the physical body into the pure gold of Spirit, and thus awakening the Cosmic Consciousness.

What electricity is in this material world, love is in the realm of spirit. Electricity has always been in existence but man knew it not, until one, unconsciously, came in touch with the great telephonic ether that surrounds the upper stratas of air, which is the treasure-house of the gods. He found out the secret only in part however, for we are as yet in the kindergarten of our comprehension of the power of electricity. If it is true, as has been suggested, that Radium is the affinity of electricity, when science learns to intelligently mate the two forces what may be the wondrous third element brought forth to revolutionize the world! Although man has, in this century, already wrought apparent miracles, far greater things are yet to come, for man is still evolving.

Electricity has almost done away with space, and continents are connected by very small contrivances. However, the electric force may be harnessed, but without an operator

it is impossible to use the current; the operator may also be there but without intelligence to use the machine he is useless; so the Divine Ego within the man must, after all, come to the rescue and teach the form he animates to transmit the message. It is absolutely necessary for us to come in touch with the God within ere we can realize our own power, and by Divine union of the love-force to use the power for whatever ends we may desire.

When the Christ Mind awakens in our Souls, it illuminates the entire being and then Cosmic Evolution becomes possible.

I suppose that we are all familiar with the sweet, old mythological story of Pygmalion and Galatea—of how the sculptor created his ideal in spotless marble, and with the immaculate conception before his eyes, his soul reached out in love and desire towards it—of how his passion warmed into yielding flesh and blood the stone effigy of the perfect woman and she breathed, and lived, and loved! In the same way we can create an ideal and love it into life and being...that is why our cherished dreams oft-time become realities.

Ovid describes the transformation of the marble Galatea into life long centuries ago, in these burning words:—

“The sculptor sought his home, and bending o’er the couch that bore
His Maiden’s life-like image, to her lips
Fond pressed his own,—and lo, her lips seemed warm,
And warmer kissed again :—and now his hand
Her bosom seeks, and dimpling to his touch
The ivory seems to yield,—as in the Sun
The waxen labor of Hymettus bees,
By plastic fingers wrought, to various shape
And use by use is fashioned. Wonder spelled,
Scarce daring to believe his bliss, in dread
Lest sense deluded mock him, on the form
He loved, again and yet again his hand
Lay trembling touch, and to his touch a pulse—
’Twas very life ! Then forth in eloquent flood

His grateful heart to Venus poured...
 The lips he kissed were living lips that felt
 His passionate pressure ;—o'er the virgin's cheek
 Stole deepening crimson ;—and the unclosing eyes
 At once on Heaven and on their Lover looked ! ”

Love is the transforming power of the Universe ;— “ he that loveth not, knoweth not God ; for God is love,” said the Beloved Disciple.

The Sun loves the Earth ; and gladly she yields to him the beauty of the rose, the glory of the vine, the wonder of the tree.

He touches with a kiss of love the lips of Spring—and lo, thousands of flowers come laughing into the world. He embraces the Mountains with heavenly love—and lo, the ice fetters are burst asunder, and thousands of sparkling rills dance down the rocky steep to the plains below, giving life and joy to the thirsty earth, then clasping hands they run onward to the Sea, there to be absorbed and to become one with its vastness and strength, as we all must become One, in the Universal Sea of God's love.

It is Love who sends the birds singing into the air ; Love paints their plumage, and thrills in their songs.

Love teaches the sparrow to round the nest to fit her throbbing heart, that she might cover the eggs and love them into life.

Every eagle in the air and every bird, and all things that live are guided by the same law of Love that leads the stars in their mighty processional !

Love is constructive, and never destructive ; and yet, great physical disturbances occur, that cause the sceptic to cry aloud, “ Behold the workings of God !... The Divine Father, who sends cyclones, accidents, earthquakes and wars, to hurl into Eternity thousands of His helpless children without a moment's warning ! ” God does not destroy—God does not punish—“ We are our own Fate ; our own deeds are our

dooms men." Nature's laws are immutable—Nature in her mighty works, holds the human race of no more account than she does the dumb beasts of the field, or the birds of the air. A great storm arises—trees are uprooted, the nests woven with such care and understanding are hurled to the earth with the helpless birdlings whose wings are not feathered for flight; they are crushed and killed, and the tragedy is as complete in the bird-kingdom, and of as much importance in Nature's eyes, as when a cyclone sweeps a town of human beings out of existence.

In the histories of the ages, we have accounts of great floods, buried cities, destructive earthquakes, and submerged continents:—all are in accordance with the immutable laws of Nature. Nature is apparently cruel, but she is a wise house-keeper and makes no mistakes.

A child breaks a law laid down by its parents; and in all pity and love, with hearts athrob with sympathy, the parents punish the little one—it has brought its own suffering to pass—the law is sure; "*As a man soweth that surely shall he reap.*"

In the "Book of Golden Precepts," we read, "Learn that no efforts, not the smallest, whether in *right* or *wrong* direction—can vanish from the world of causes. E'en wasted smoke remains not traceless. A harsh word uttered in past lives, is not destroyed, but ever comes again. The pepper plant will not give birth to roses, nor the sweet jessamine's silver stars to thorn or thistle turn." This Eastern precept was doubtless familiar to Jesus, who brought the same lesson home to the hearts of the simple people around Him, when He said, "*Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles?*"

Know of a certainty, thou canst create this day, thy chances for thy to-morrow. "In the great journey, cause sown each hour bear each its harvest of effects; for rigid Justice rules the world."

The sins of the people of Sodom and Gomorrah, the vices of the inhabitants of beautiful Babylon, destroyed and laid them low. God did not send the wreck and ruin. Did not Christ cry out in agony of spirit, "*O Jerusalem, Jerusalem—thou that killeth the prophets, and stoneth them that are sent unto thee; how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!*" In His love for humanity His heart almost broke over their sins, but He could not save them from the *karma* they had brought upon themselves. Even as He could not save the sin-sick world from the blood-drenched destruction that was self-created—a people and a country must work out their Karmic debt, and then will come Reconstruction. The New Day even now begins to glow in the East; the Light shineth through the darkness.

Throughout the Bible we will see that sickness, sorrow and disease was the direct result of sin, or of evil spirits, who through our acts we have invited to enter and make their abode with us. The same law holds to-day as then.

In the great cataclysms of Nature, some law has been broken; some reconstruction had to be brought about by destruction. In a night, a spider with the skill of an Arachne, may weave a web of exquisite beauty across a rare tapestry in the parlour—the filmy, silken thread may be woven in intricate pattern to rival the work of Minerva herself, and yet, a careful housewife with one sweep of her Broom will destroy the web and its inhabitants; she has no thought of their well-being; but to them it means utter destruction! So with Nature, it is ever the *survival of the fittest*. She believes in order and elimination, and would shatter the world to bits—"and then remould it nearer to the Heart's Desire!"

We see meteors hurled through space; and falling stars to mark great upheavals on other spheres..... "The firmament showeth His handiwork."

The moon was once a radiant world—perhaps peopled by a higher grade of inhabitants than our Earth; but it became worn, and old and weary—it is now a burnt-out shell, shining only by reflected splendour of the sun. But a period of reconstruction will one day restore the lost vitality to the moon, and she will again reach the “human tide-wave.”

Everything moves in circles according to fixed laws. The planets must have their periodical times of rest, in which to become re-vitalized, just as man must drink in new life from “tired Nature’s sweet restorer, balmy sleep”!... and the year must have its Winter to produce the re-creative energy to bring forth renewed beauty in the spring. Divine Love turns the wheel of life, and all is good.

“*God is Spirit, and they that worship Him, must worship Him in spirit and in Truth.*” Love is of the Spirit:—we are surrounded by the sea of God’s love—we must take deep inhalations of this divine essence to bring forth the fruits of the spirit—we must establish a perfect rhythm to find our key-note in the Eternal Harmony.

The great occult teacher, St. Paul, knew full well the workings of this law of love, when he wrote, “Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not Love, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.”

Spirit is indestructible; floods cannot drown, fire cannot burn, earthquakes cannot destroy it. Nothing on earth, nor in the waters under the earth, can hurt or harm Spirit. Neither death, nor the grave, nor hell can imprison it; no locality can contain it—for Spirit is free, untrammelled and eternal! God is love, and love is the essence of Spirit.

As by sin came death into the world, so by Love came life. The love of man for woman is a sacred and a beautiful thing, when it is the perfect union of mind, body and soul... It is the communion of Spirit; the divine fire on the altar, at which to light the torch of humanity to illuminate the world. Without this love, desire would cease, the race would

become extinct, and the earth would sleep and become as torpid as the moon.

From the union of the Father, with the creative spirit of Love, or the Mother-Principle, came the Son; from the union of man and woman comes the perfect flower, in the child; from the union of darkness and dawn comes the radiant Day. And so, from the marriage, or union of two forces or elements in all chemistry and Nature, in physical and psychical life comes the perfect three in one, known as "trinity in unity."

Love is the ambrosia of the gods—in the eating thereof mortal may become immortal. Love is the wine of life, that the "Angel-shape" bore on its shoulder, and bade us drink thereof. Love made Holy the contents of the Grail, and brought about the At-one-ment of God and man. Love is the sculptor who moulds the Soul into His likeness, and make the desert of our life to blossom like the rose. Love will blot out all mistakes, right all wrongs, turn the unsightly into the beautiful, transmute the baser metals of the heart into pure gold—Love is the All!

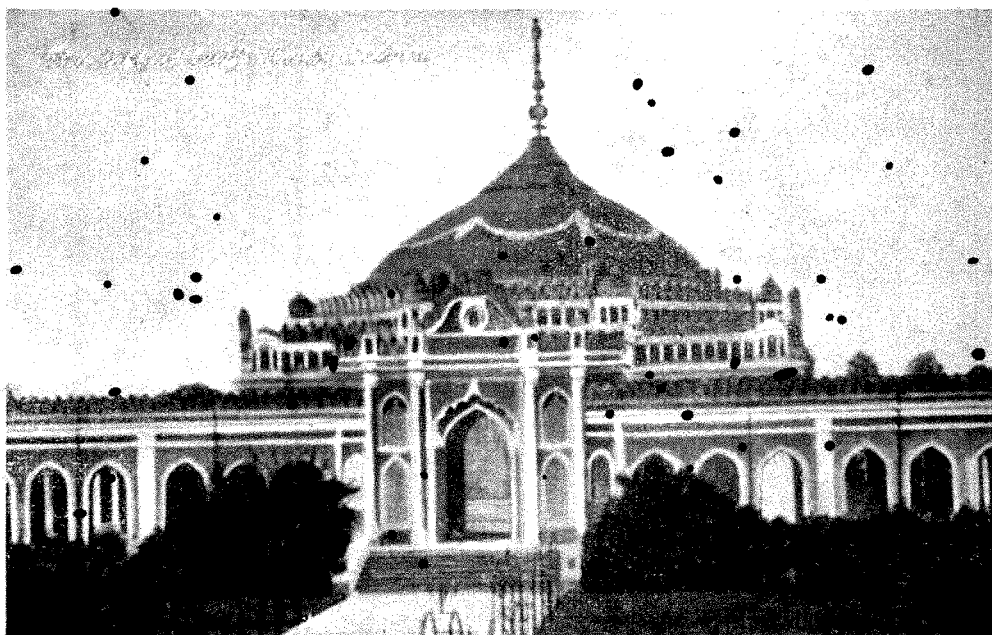
- So, Beloved, take heart! If things are going wrong with you in spiritual or physical life, remember that Love is the law, and "*Only God may be had for the asking.*" Right thinking produces right knowledge—right knowledge produces right action—right action produces good *karma*..... So, Love will overcome the world, the flesh and the devil!

With the dear old seer, John Burroughs, let us say,

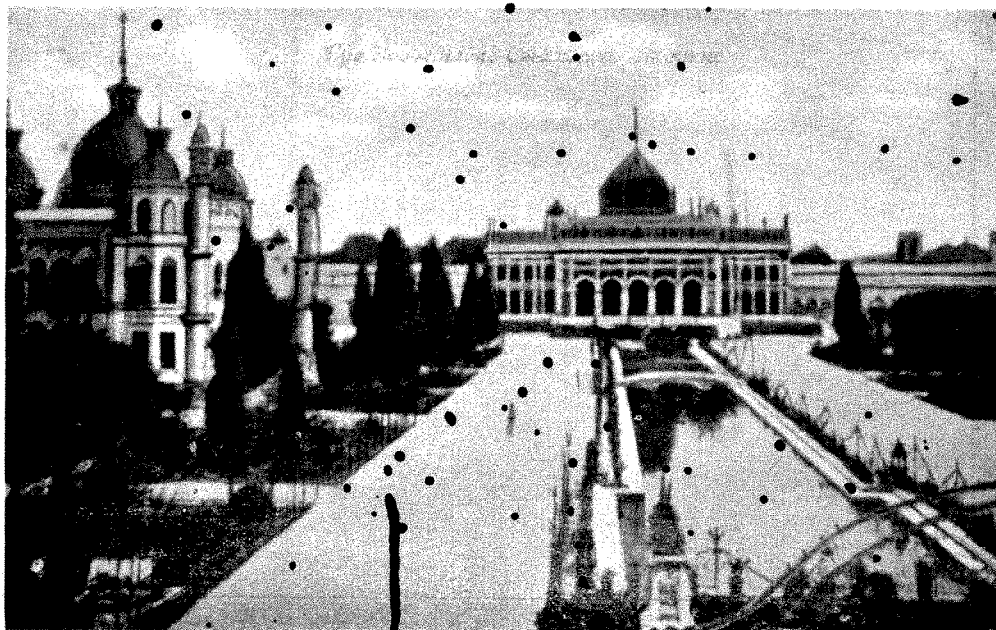
"Serene I fold my hands and wait,
Whate'er the storms of life may be,
Faith guides me up to Heaven's gate,
And Love will bring my own to me."

TERESA STRICKLAND

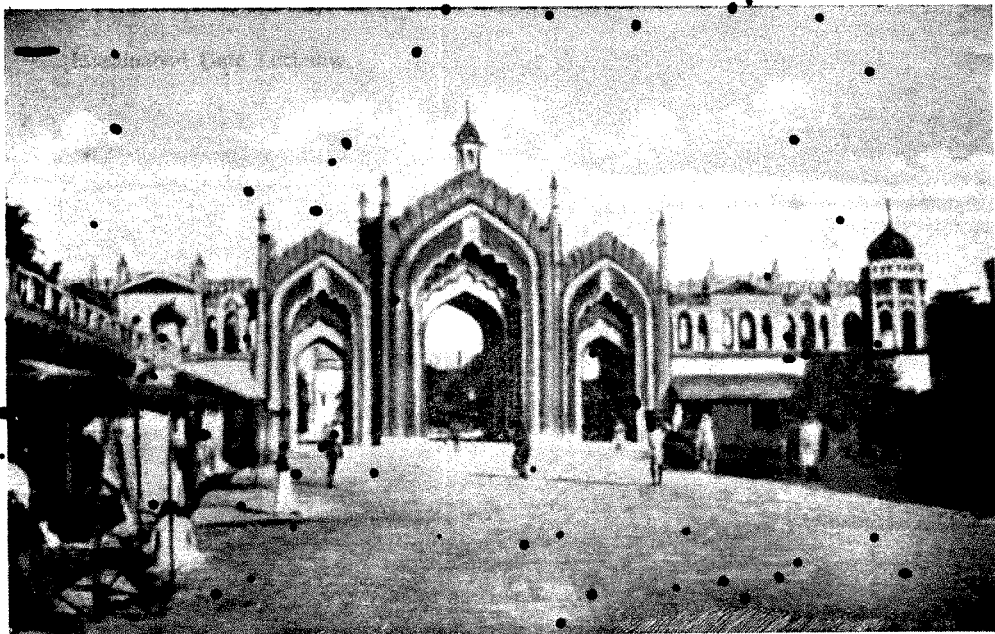
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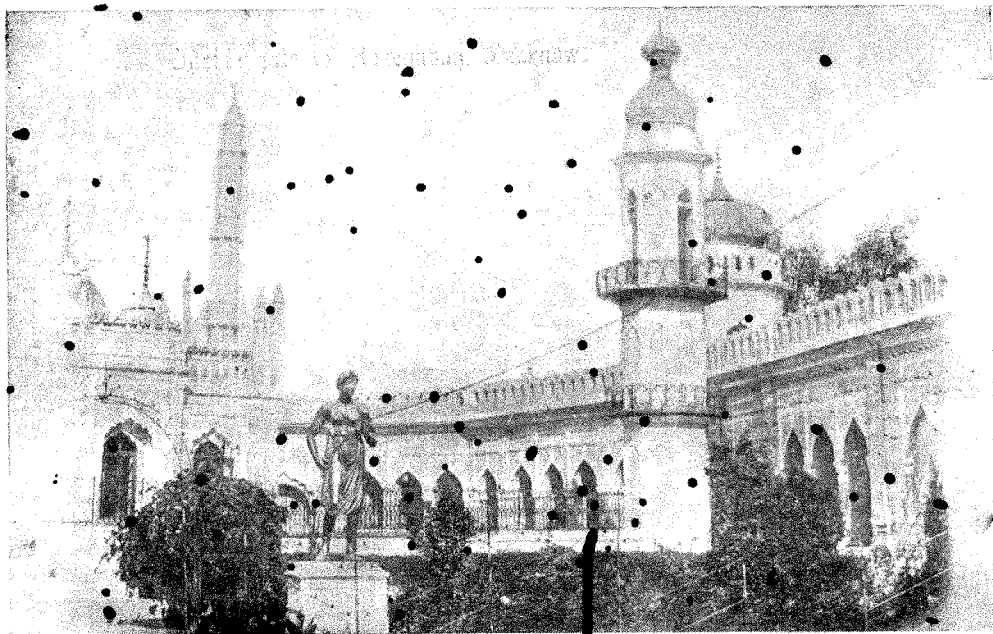
First King of Oudh's Tomb



Hossainabad Imambara



Hossainabad Gate



Inside Gate of Hossainabad

CREATION FROM A DYNAMIC POINT OF VIEW —

The ultimate sole Reality, from which the universe has, and is being, evolved and into which it shall involve, is *Onit* or *Consciousness*, so that it is quite reasonable to conceive that creation commences with the evolutions of this *Consciousness*. The nature of this *Consciousness* is *Supreme Experience* of the *Perfect Universe*, i.e., of the series of world-systems in totality that are going on eternally. So that what is meant by evolution is that this *Supreme Experience* gets delimited; and by creation is meant the operation and the means whereby the unlimited *Experience* becomes limited and reduced to the experiences of the embodied spirits, which philosophically consists of "accumulating facts and drawing inductive inferences from these to other future facts." But for *Supreme Experience* there cannot be any such fact (which is pragmatic) in relation of futurity to it. These facts or more properly "fact sections" are supposed to be sensations and feelings, and so the external world is considered to be "the permanent possibility of sensations." The *Śāstras* account for these feelings in the *Supreme Experience* from the past enjoyments of different world-systems in the form of *Karma*, which is translated as "motion." *Kārmās* imply doings of *Jīvas* during life, which engender *Saṅskāras* or groups of tendencies. *Metaphysic* also conceives—"There is nothing in intellect which was not previously in sensation." The *Āgama Śāstra* called this *Supreme Experience*, *Paramātmā* or *Shiva*, the ultimate receptacle for all the *Experiences* of the phenomenal world after dissolution of an embodied soul, just as what the ocean is to the river water, and the outer space is to the space confined in a jar; so it is said:—

"*Ghatākāśhamivākaśhe sarittoyaṁivārnave*

Jīvo me vilāyang yātu Shivākhye Paramātmāni."

The "Garland of Letters" also says:—"The manifestation of those things which presently appear, happen in the form of external things because they exist within." "Therefore what exists in our experience, evolved from the Supreme, also exists in the Supreme Experience though in another way." The Supreme Experience called *Parāsamvit* is not a mere abstract objectless knowing (*Jñāna*). (p. 90). But in the Supreme Experience the objects or facts appear as "resting in the Self" (in the shape of *Ānanda*) due to *Shakti's* being in *Vimarśa* state wherein impressions of past actions remain in, and not outside the Being. "For it must be remembered that an object is nothing but the one Self appearing through *Māyā* as non-Self to Itself as subject" (Garland of Letters, p. 89). Hence the Supreme Experience is a continuum, and "an undefined and undefinable universe of sounds, sights, smells, tastes, organic sensations, ideas, feelings, hopes, fears, likes, dislikes, desires, etc." (Causality and Continuity, p. 52).

Although Indian philosophy asserts that creation is beginningless, meaning thereby that creation and dissolution (after a long life of course) of repeated world-systems in successive series are going on ceaselessly, and there is no commencement of the process in series as a whole in the sense we understand the commencement of a thing to be; yet for our understanding we may start by considering the commencement of any one world-system in the series. In fact the world-system consists of endless endings and endless beginnings appearing as a continuous whole. Dr. Eriksen conceives psychologically that "the life of every world-system is synthesised within a total period of time (which the *Āgama* understood as the period of the ripening of the *Māta*) singled out from the enduring changeless background of the universal time-space. So the systems may be said to form special series of succession only related to each other by the universal time-space, in which the guarantee of a universal equilibrium may be found" (p. 187). To understand

what he means by "time-space" and "special series of succession" we shall give the explanations in his own language later on, while explaining the creation of space.

In the beginning, as contemplated by the *Shaiva* and the *Shākta Āgamas*, Chit or Consciousness for want of any movement is naturally supposed to remain in an infinitely calm state, without any sign of movement in It, and so completely homogeneous in nature, which is likened to a waveless sea (*Nistaranga-samudra-kārpam*). Notwithstanding the fact that the first movement towards evolution, that takes place in Consciousness may be said to be psychic in nature, yet ordinary Psychology is completely incompetent to comprehend the process, and the Being out of which this process arises, may be considered to correspond with what Dr. Eriksen describes as the "hidden psychic side of the universe needing no 'descent into matter' or motional differentiation for the realisation of its inherent nature" (p. 185). The phases of evolution taking place in this state are called *Sadrisha-parindamas* ("changes in its own given condition") by the above-named *Āgamas*, since these are inherent in the *Shuddha Tattvas* or the pure creation, which only we propose to discuss in this present discourse. In as much as, the basis of these evolutions is Consciousness Itself, and so showing signs of more than mechanical activity, Dr. Eriksen designates this state as the "cosmic life sphere," which may be treated as corresponding with what the *Shāstra* calls the *Shiva-tattva* aspect of Being, more nicely distinguished as *Chit-Sakti*, meaning a metaphysical subjective aspect of Consciousness or Chit. *Shiva* has been defined by *Śhruti* as :-

"*Ādyantarāhitang Shuddhang Chidānandamayang Shivam*"
The Chit or Consciousness, which is beginningless and endless; pure, and full of bliss, is called *Shiva*.

In this Infinite Calm motionless Being manifestation commences with the appearance of a kinetic principle called

Shakti in the shape of the Will of *Shiva* causing movement in the homogeneous medium and reducing it to a dynamic sphere, which is analogous to Dr. Eriksen's "cosmic life sphere," as also to a psychic sphere, since the moving article is Consciousness Itself. By the will of *Shiva* is meant that no special aim can be assigned to *Shiva* for this manifestation, and it is said that:—

*Prayojanamamanuddishya na mando'pi pravartate
Yati prayojanoddesho hiyetānandārūpatā."*

It is true that even an ignorant person will not engage to do anything without any special aim; yet if we assign any aim to *Shiva* that will be a derogation of His form as Bliss (it being due to His fullness). Dr. Eriksen also, whose principal object is to establish a continuity between the phenomenal world and what he understands to be the "universal time-space," says that—"Universal space is not rigid and dead rest, but rather a perfection of motion, which here in every place and every moment may be considered as finished, because it has no special aim outside itself and therefore needs no differentiations or materialisations to realise such aims." (p. 162). This may be taken as a good definition of *Shiva-tattva*. According to Sir John Woodroffe, for the manifestation of *Shakti*, there appears first a metaphysical point of *Ghanibhūtā Shakti*; he calls this metaphysical because unlike geometrical, it has no magnitude and no fixed position in space, i.e., it is not in "formal space." Dr. Eriksen also says that "centralisation or punctualisation seems to be a condition of differentiation or individualisation within the original "cosmic life-sphere." He further thinks that all spatial movements should be determined in relation to a point which could have no movement of its own; so that this point would then be the centre of gravity of the whole universe. Accordingly he says that "In so far as we look upon real space as such,

it may be said to have its centre of gravity *everywhere*, because every point in it must be considered as a point of transition from a motional to a psychic sphere, i.e., from a sphere in which spatial differentiations and changes are possible to a sphere in which they cease to have any meaning." (p. 176.) We can imagine that differentiation to some extent (in the shape of *Sadrisha Parināma*) in the homogeneous continuum becomes necessary for the purpose of the first limitation in the experience of the Full, in the shape of subjectivation and objectivation aspects of Consciousness called the *Shiva-tattva* and the *Shakti-tattva*; and that this experience assumes the form of Will, which again generates creative-ideation in Chit or Consciousness, which has already assumed the *Shiva-tattva* aspect, and *Tattva* is the combination of *Tatatva* and *San-tatatva*.

So by the manifestation of *Shakti*, Consciousness or Chit is supposed to assume a dynamic aspect causing disturbance in its homogeneity with the result of making the impressions of the manifestation of *Shakti* to appear in the form of a *Bindu* or point of condensed consciousness due to *karma*. Pursuant to Dr. Eriksen's opinion this point should be treated as a point of simultaneous presence, because it is a point of consciousness itself. From this point *Shakti* is supposed to extend or diffuse, and so to cause Consciousness to assert the diffusive or *Tattva* aspect, by following *Shakti* in the act of identification with Her; since *Shiva* and *Shakti* are simply aspects of one and the same Being. *Shakti* as potency of *Māyā Shakti*, according to the opinion of Dr. Eriksen, should be analogous to Energy and *Shakti* as *Chit Shakti* to Force, because according to him both Energy and Force are essential in saving the phenomenal world from being reduced to a chaos.

Now regarding this Force Dr. Eriksen says that "the function of force in inorganic nature is in many respects analogous to that of life in organic nature, and the gulf now

existing between the inorganic and organic world does not exclude a common origin of both in previous stages of development. Both may be considered as differentiations from a primary proto-organic stage, a stage of cosmic, not individual organic life." (p. 177.) Accordingly *Shakti* as Energy reduces the homogeneous Consciousness into a sphere of motion; wherein all movements take place within the body of the homogeneous field rendering it heterogeneous at first as far as only the density or rather the activity (both motional and psychic) is concerned, whereby only the *Sadrisha Parināmas* appear. We shall see later on that this movement is rhythmic and creates periodicity.

We may trace the subjectivation-objectivation differentiation here even, and say that metaphysically Force is analogous to the subjectified aspect and Energy to the objectified aspect; since *Māyā Shakti* is a constant adjunct of *Īshvara* although not controlling Him. In this connection, we should always bear in mind that *Shiva* and *Shakti* are not different entities, but different aspects of the same Reality, namely, Chit or Consciousness—one being the negative aspect of the other. In speaking of Force and Energy, Dr. Eriksen says that "The tendency to identify energy with force and to extend this identification to life and consciousness is a result of a deficient discrimination between fundamental differences in existence." (p. 171.) He also feels that Mass and Energy should not be identified, but should be treated as correlative terms, as otherwise "it leaves unexplained how the energy which is to be found in the mass is potentialised in such a way that mass or matter appears." (p. 173.) But "potentiality is unmeaning in relation to the absolute and infinite Being for it pertains to relation and infinite existence." (*Shakti and Shākta*, p. 160.) To understand how this deficiency in discrimination is possible, we should quote Sir John Woodroffe wherein he says—"there are three levels or planes of being (*Sattā*); namely, transcendental *Pāramārthika*,"

empirical (*Vyava-hārika*) and illusory (*Prātibhāsika*). The Real (*Sātya*) is that which is given in all the three planes (*Pāramārthika Satya*): the empirical (*Vyavahārika Satya*) is that which is given in the second and third planes but not in the first. It is worldly or imperfect dual experience and not undual experience of *Samādhi* or *Videha-Mukti* which latter, however, underlies all states of experience, being the Ether of Consciousness. Itself. The last (*Prātibhāsika Satya*) is given or obtains only in the last plane, being only such reality as can be attributed to illusion such as 'the rope-snake.' A higher plane contradicts a lower; the third is contradicted by the second, the second by the first, and the first by nothing at all." (Shakti and Shākta; p. 158.) The identification of Force with Energy is quite natural, since *Śhiva-Shakti* is always one, and the subjectified aspect is impossible without there being an objectified or presentative aspect present at the same time.

As the result of the manifestation of *Shakti*, *Parama-Śhiva* or Consciousness as Supreme Experience is reduced to a continuum of movements and so to diffusive Consciousness (*Tattva*). Both the *Śhaiva* and the *Shākta Āgamas*, by tracing the relation of the phenomenal world to this ultimate continuum have come to the conclusion that Chit or Consciousness is the ultimate Reality. Dr. Eriksen says—"dynamic reality is as a sphere of motion insusceptible of a perfect rationalisation. The rationalisation of it can only be approximate, and it will be dependent upon the degree in which the necessary rest is realised as a *dynamic continuity in motion*" (p. 157); and by rationalisation is to be understood objectivation, if we may say so. In comparing relative motions this rest as a dynamic continuity in motion, according to him, is perceptible only through simultaneity; but simultaneity presupposes Space and Time and consequently velocity. And he further says that "Separate motions are only intelligible within a spatial field already existing, but in the case of the

primary spatial extension no such spatial field exists beforehand. It must be created dynamically, i.e., by motion." (p. 162.) We have seen that perceptions of Space and Time owe their origin in the *Tatatva* and the *Santatatva* extension of Consciousness. Dr. Eriksen also feels that "the most perfect realisation of a simultaneous continuity in the sphere of motion would consist in a *universal motional unity, within which no mechanical system could be discriminated or isolated from other mechanical systems*. Such a motional unity may be four-dimensionally realised in the universal real space as the dynamic continuity within which the various cosmic bodies are moving. But the latter are in greater or less degree related to each other as separate mechanical systems, and in so far the four-dimensional continuity is broken." (p. 157). Regarding perception of motion, the author cited says that "the sensual perception of motion is conditioned by a *discrepancy* between the time of subjective perception and the time as objectified in the perceived motion." (p. 134). Because "if there were no such discrepancy between subjective and objective time, or between the time of the subjective act of perception and time considered as a *function of the moving sense-object*, no motion could be perceived at all." (p. 135). In our ordinary experience we also find that the spokes of a revolving wheel give us the idea of solidity of the wheel owing to this discrepancy. To overcome this discrepancy the presence of an "absolute space, i.e., a resting or changeless spatial background" (technically known as *Bhedāshrayah*) becomes necessary as a means to perceive motion, as well as "to divide and subdivide analytically the time of the motion by connecting it with the divisibility of the distance traversed," and so to objectify time. Accordingly consideration of velocity of motion helps us to realise motion intellectually or mathematically. When the velocity of motion considered in relation to space and the velocity of subjective perception of motion considered in relation to time, coincide then arises the idea of simultaneity, and

the subject feels the rest in motion necessary to realise motion.

The theory of relativity considers the velocity of light (being the only agent to give us any idea of ubiquity as the highest velocity known to science, but the maximum velocity in the absolute world of motion should be $\frac{\infty \text{ space}}{0 \text{ time}}$, which means "that no time is needed to realise an endless space," so that the moving thing, which is Consciousness Itself, becomes omnipresent and its experience becomes simultaneous. In connection with this maximum of velocity Dr. Eriksen says that "the more velocity can do, the less is left to be done by time, which in the case of maximum velocity will be reduced to zero. The motion is in this case equal by itself to space without needing multiplication by time. It is simultaneous extension, in which time as successive extension is swallowed up by or rather raised to simultaneity. Thus this maximum of velocity means that the spatial or extensive differentiation is absorbed into a timeless but enduring unity." (p. 164). Algebraically this quantity $\frac{\infty \text{ space}}{0 \text{ time}}$ is called a *Khaharā Rāshi* (from having *Kha*=cypher as its *Hara*=divisor). *Bhāskara* in his *Vijaganita* (Algebra) says :—

“ *Asmin vikārah Khahare na rāshāhvapi pravishteshvapi*
nihsriteshu
Vahushvapi śāllaya-srishtikāle nante'chyute bhūtāgane-
shu yadvat.”

That is, in this *Khahāra*, there takes place no change, even if various quantities are added to, or subtracted from, it; just as the limitless *Achryuta* (that which has no dropping or diminishing), i.e., *Brahman*, remains the same at the time of Dissolution as well as at Creation notwithstanding the fact that the numerous *Bhūtas* or created things respectively enter into, or come out of It. Again according to Dr. Eriksen, the

highest velocity in real space "must be a velocity by which this space is dynamically defined and realised as a simultaneous presence or rest"; i.e., it must be created by motion as stated above. This is what the said author understands to be the conception of a fourth-dimension, i.e., "the conception of a time-power defining itself in the highest velocity of the universe and using it to unify the whole sphere of motion as an *organic life-sphere*." (p. 159). We have seen that "time-power" is the function of *Māyā Shakti* in the shape of what is technically known as the *Mala*; so this conception of a fourth-dimension, which in its origin is *Tatatva* and *Santatatva* is a help to us to transcend *Māyā Shakti* through the absolute side of the principle of Relativity.

Accordingly *Māyā Shakti* as Energy the cause of repulsion may be taken to assume the objectivation aspect of space in Her proto-materialistic stage as quantity and *Chit Shakti* as Force the cause of attraction may be counted as the quality of curvature in that space; from this it may be deduced that the movements generated by *Shakti* have their velocity curved "in such a manner that it is made the medium of simultaneous presence or unsuccessive duration." *Shāstra* also describes active Consciousness or *Chit-Shakti* as :—

"*Akhaṇḍa māṇḍalākāraṅ vyūptāṅ yena charācharam.*"

The phenomenal world is pervaded by a Being who is undifferentiated and is in the form of a curve. Since the highest velocity in this way becomes curved, so *Nāda* the first movement from sound aspect of Consciousness is represented by a crescent shaped figure, which properly speaking is the symbol of space itself or *Shakti* in Her outward journey to form the rhythm. According to Dr. Eriksen "this curving will then appear as a dynamical background of periodicity and rhythm, real space having the character of a dynamic sphere revolving into itself." (p. 160).

Dr. Eriksen thinks that the transition from the motional to the psychical sphere is marked by the transformation into the simultaneity of rest (as is the case with the vibrations of light and sound), which by abstraction may be widened into the absoluteness of a stationary and changeless space; and that this simultaneity of rest ultimately appears as the *form* or *Rūpa*. From this it may be taken that mass and form owe their origin in ordered movement. But if energy were the only dynamic principle in the sphere of motion, what could have induced this order in movement; so he thinks that there must be a "dynamic principle of opposite character" linked with energy. To which he gives the name of Force; since, he says, "the sphere of motion is a kosmos and not a chaos." The *Shaiva* and the *Shākta Agamas* will call this force and energy (if we may use these terms in the metaphysical sense) as the *Chit Shakti* and the *Māyā Shakti* respectively. Besides the author cited shows that force is the only agent for the potentialisation of energy. Accordingly, force is revealed in attraction and so in "action in distance" while energy is repulsive and so connected with "contact action." Space is affirmed by energy (as in *Nāda Tattva*) while force negates it. He also states that energy may be connected with quantity and force with quality, energy with extension and force with intension. But he is not prepared to identify mass and energy, and says that they are correlative; since the relation between them may vary. This conception even is a further proof of energy being equivalent to *Māyā Shakti*.

Dr. Eriksen further maintains that by connecting the conception of ether with the idea of a cosmic force or life principle we may be led to connect ether with periodicity in the universe as a sphere of motion. Regarding ether he thinks it shows only negative qualities in relation to matter and motion (which is analogous to the action of *Shakti*); and he says that "rhythmic periodicity seems inextricably

involved in the production of enduring forms and masses in the sphere of motion. Thus ether is not only connected with the periodicity of rotation, by which the time-rhythm of the various world-bodies is adjusted, but also with the periodicity in the life or existence of the world-systems, determining their formation and dissolution, their exhalation or inhalation" (p. 179). He says again that the universe as a totality may be considered as enduring, but the different world-systems within it seem to appear and disappear periodically after a long life; and the ether, functioning as an organ of adjustment, serves as a medium of all periodicity, whereby equilibrium in the universe is brought about. Accordingly "the ether should be a means of balancing the pairs of opposites" (p. 179), whereby periodicity is realised. But in the *Shaiva* and the *Shākta Āgamas* ether is *Ākāśha* as well as space, transcendently it is called *Chidākāśha*, which is translated as Ether of Consciousness. All that has been stated above of ether, properly speaking, is in connection with ether viewed as an objective presentation only. But Ether of Consciousness, according to the *Shaiva* and the *Shākta Āgamas*, undergoes an internal or psychical change and assumes both the subjectivation and the objectivation aspects for the purpose of evolution. This objectivation aspect, although at base is Consciousness Itself, yet appears as an unconscious being, its consciousness or true nature being veiled by *Māyā Shakti*, which thus causes a *Bhedabuddhi* or differentiation in the homogeneous Reality. The manifestation of *Māyā Shakti* is due to the movement of such objective presentation, which is Becoming, whereas the subjective aspect is the changeless Being. One phase of this *Māyā Shakti* has been conceived by Dr. Eriksen as time-power, because according to him the different manifestations in the evolutions of *Māyā Shakti* take place in the "universal time advancement." But this movement of the objective presentation raises in our pragmatic mind the idea of velocity, which must be admitted owes its

origin to the subjective experience of simultaneous appearance of *Tatatva* and *Santatatva* phases of active or moving Consciousness, which is *Shakti Tattva*. Now, for estimating velocity, the elements are space and time, and the intuition of space arises from *Tatatva* and that of time from *Santatatva*. So that to entertain the idea of this velocity, we must presume that the manifestation of *Shakti Tattva* on the one hand and the appearance of *Tatatva* and *Santatatva* phases on the other hand took place simultaneously; because these experiences are by Consciousness itself. In the beginning this simultaneity means that time must be zero; but similarly if we assume that the space is also zero, then that would imply that there is no movement; accordingly it is natural to assume that the space should be infinite to create the maximum velocity, and to establish the omnipresence of *Shakti Tattva*. Again by conceiving the presence or manifestation of *Shakti Tattva* the presence of Its counterpart *Shiva Tattva* must be admitted, as the one cannot exist without the other; *Shakti Tattva* being conceived as the negative aspect of or in *Shiva Tattva*, as also the Will of *Shiva* as yet unmanifest and inseparable from Him (*Santatasamavāyini*). In another connection *Santatasamavāyini* has been translated by Sir John Woodroffe as "ever associated with *Shiva*" (Garland of Letters, p. 104); and Consciousness-Power or *Shakti Tattva* is looked at as *Chit Shakti* and *Māyā Shakti*. And through the operation of this *Māyā Shakti* the experience of time arises and in fact time is conceived in the form of the relation between *Māyā Shakti* and Her operations. From the above it is clear that time is also a movement, so, what is its velocity? The velocity of time cannot be greater than that of *Shakti Tattva*; because, although time limits all experiences in the universe, yet the experience of time itself cannot be limited by anything other than the experience of *Shiva Tattva*, i.e., the movement called time or *Kālatattva* is swallowed up by the movement called *Shiva Tattva* only; and

nothing else. *Shiva* is not delimited by *Kāla*—“*Shivah kālānavachchinnah.*”

According to Dr. Eriksen through the theory of Relativity it may be proved that the world is neither finite nor infinite. He says—“In the first case the energy radiating outwards from the world-bodies would be checked and reflected by artificial spatial boundaries—an impossible thought. In the second case all would be lost in the infinity of space—a supposition not less impossible than the first and depriving all natural explanations of their basis.” (p. 182). Now the four-dimensionality is the “conception of a time-power (*Māyā Shakti* = Energy) defining itself in the highest velocity of the universe and using to unify the whole sphere of motion as an *organic life-sphere.*” From the definition of *Nāda Tattva*, we have seen, that it is the *Prasarah* or stirring forth of *Shakti* as *Jñāna Shakti* and *Kriyā Shakti* both having equal potency and so equal velocity, are being impelled by *Ichchhā Shakti*. This *Tattva* is really the creation of space or ether and is figuratively represented by a symbol of crescent form. Now these *Jñāna Shakti*, *Kriyā Shakti* and *Ichchhā Shakti* are the three functioning aspects of *Chit Shakti*, as the *Gunas Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas* are of *Māyā Shakti*. From this it is clear that *Jñāna Shakti*, *Kriyā Shakti* and *Ichchhā Shakti* are aspects of what Dr. Eriksen calls force and *Sattva*, *Rajas*, *Tamas* are of energy. *Nāda* or *Sādāshiva Tattva* represents the creation of space or ether the negative aspect of the phenomenal world in its energetic aspect only. Now according to the metageometry of Riemann space has a positive curvature, so that what appears to us to be a straight line ultimately returns in itself as a circle; thus infinity should be represented by such a curve. When considered dynamically this curve is conceived as the result of the action of force called *Ichchhā Shakti* on the movement of energy possessing the highest velocity. The author cited also conceives this force to be a cosmic force or ether, “by which

real space is defined," and "the expansion of the universe is thus raised from a mere or empty space to a 'time-space,' which must impart a certain periodicity to the formations going on within it." He also says that "Thus the inherent periodicity of real space is only an expression of its organic four-dimensionality." (p. 183).

In the next *Tattva* called the *Bindu* or *Īshvara Tattva* the force aspect only is represented, and the force is supposed to act from a point within the curve. It is usual to represent both *Nāda* and *Bindu* together, because in the *Īshvara Tattva* the *Vritti* for the differentiation of *Idam* or objective side appears in Consciousness. Again when the rhythm is completed and simultaneous presence is felt in the velocity, Consciousness as *Chit Shakti* assumes the shape of a point and so it is represented by a point or *Bindu*. It may be said here that, from the psychical point of view, while the first experience of unlimited space appears to Consciousness in the form of a curve and so creating the idea of rhythm, the experience of time to timeless experience first appears in the form of a point. *Īshvara Tattva* is always associated with *Māyā*, but not controlled by Her; i.e., *Īshvara Tattva* can easily transcend *Māyā*. *Māyā* is the principle through whose instrumentality all measurements are possible (*Māyate anayā iti Māyā*). *Māyā Shakti* = four-dimensional potency = form-formulating principle to put on limitation to the unlimited Experience. Now this universe is full of movements, and there is no rest in it, the only rest possible to be realised is through the idea of this simultaneity derived from the comparison of different motions. For this comparison it is necessary to consider their respective velocities. The *haiva-Shākta* doctrine says that, in the beginning the only two motions possible are called *Tatatva* and *Santatatva*. So that rest means the point of simultaneity where the velocities of *Tatatva* and *Santatatva* coincide, and this is *Īshvara Tattva*; whereas, when energy diffuses in its outward journey to

create space then it is *Sadāśhiva Tattva*. The different degrees of velocity are related to time, and in the case of maximum velocity time is reduced to zero. Dr. Eriksen says—"The motion is in this case equal by itself to space without needing multiplication by time. It is simultaneous extension, in which time as a successive extension is swallowed up by, or rather raised to simultaneity. Thus this maximum of velocity means that the spatial or extensive differentiation is absorbed into a timeless but enduring unity." (p. 164). This timeless, enduring unity is called the *Shāśhvata* Being in the *Shāstra*. He further considers that every motion is an attempt to overcome the antagonism between extension and simultaneity, and "in the case of the original space-creating motion is the antagonism perfectly overcome and made a unity. Thus the velocity of the separate motions in the universe can no longer be the original one unimpeded by any resistance, but only a fraction of it, needing multiplication by time or succession to outweigh the preponderance of extension over simultaneity." (p. 164). This may be taken as one of the reasons why *Dik* or space is not counted as a *Tattva* by the *Shāstra*.

Properly speaking *Dik* or space (*Sadāśhiva*) aspect is perceived in the motional sphere, whereas *Ishvara* or *Bindu* aspect shows the transition from the motional to the psychical sphere, and while in this last sphere there appears another aspect known as the *Sadvidyā Tattva*, wherein the impelling power is *Jāna Shakti*. Dr. Eriksen says that "in transition from the physical to the psychical may be considered as a transition from motion to rest (i.e., the rest of sense-qualities, presentations and concepts, which of course do not move in physical space), implying on the side of the 'psyche' an inversion of that relation to space which physical bodies realise by their motion in it." "Thus we may represent the dynamic rest in motion as a negative filling of space in opposition to the positive filling of it, represented by the moving

bodies." (p. xvii). From this it appears that differentiation of the primary maximum velocity is caused by the intervention of three successive powers of *Ichchhā Shakti*, *Kriyā Shakti* and *Jñāna Shakti* respectively. The result is that "In *Shiva Tattva* there is the I-experience (*Aham Vimarsha*) in *Saddashiva* the I-This experience (*Aham-idam Vimarsha*); in *Ishvara Tattva* the This-I experience (*Idamaham Vimarsha*). In each case the stress is laid on the first term. In *Viśvā Tattva* there is an equality of either term in an experience which is that of the true relation of the *Aham* and the *Idam*, consisting of a synthesis (*Saṅgamana*) of the two on a single 'basis' (*Adhikarana*) and not on two different 'bases' according to the experience of those under the influence of *Māyā* (*Māyāpramātri*), thus eliminating the duality which exists in the latter experience." (Garland of Letters, p. 95). Regarding this Dr. Eriksen says that "Real original space must be considered not as the rest of death, from which no motion could arise, but as the rest of life, within which special motions are produced by a *slowing down*, not by a further intensification, or activation." "If this is realised, it will be understood that space in the usual sense of the word is a very poor designation for this original (or as we have previously called it: last) unity of the world." The word time-space is better, because it implies some consciousness of the fact that when space is defined dynamically time is also involved in it. But it must be remembered that the simultaneity of presence attributed to this original unity cannot be conceived as time in the usual sense, because the succession, which to us is the characteristic feature of time, can only arise by a slowing down of that maximum of velocity by which simultaneity is realised. Every special time must be realised as a succession *within the abiding simultaneity* of the primary time-space, and it will easily be understood that such specialisations of time are involved in every centralisation and differentiation of a material world-system within the universe.

The original time-space of the universe must therefore in relation to the separate world-systems rather be called *abiding uniform duration*. In place of its original simultaneous presence we are confronted in the world-systems with a succession." (p. 163). Although the above cited author calls *Sadāshiva Tattva* "time-space," yet according to the *Shaiva-Shākta* doctrine there is no idea of time in this as well as the subsequent *Tattvas* mentioned above, and so we call these phases, aspects of one Reality. The changes noted above take place in a four-dimensional continuum, and the "most prominent feature of this four-dimensional continuum is the simultaneous presence of events which from the ordinary point of view succeed each other." (p. xii). This proves how the other *Tattvas* with different velocities, which become gradually slower, appear out of their original maximum velocity.

Nāda, *Bindu* and *Vidyā* are *Tattvas* in relation to *Shiva Tattva*, which it called "the very void" (*Shūnyātishūnya*), since in this experience the Self is not looking towards any other (*Ananyonmukha Ahampratyayah*). *Shūnya* means empty of objective content. (*vide* Garland of Letters, p. 92). Again *Shiva Tattva* corresponds with the "organic life-sphere" of Dr. Eriksen, who says that "the realisation of the organic point of view involves a dynamics of continuities, not of discontinuities," and that "The meaning of an absolutely empty space can only be that space is considered from an *a-dynamic* point of view, e.g., as an abstract ideal or idea of consciousness. A space, i.e., a continuity which is absolutely empty in the sense that no dynamic influence whatever is exerted by it upon the bodies moving within it, is surely impossible as a physical reality," and further that "a dynamic continuity is something altogether different from an *a-dynamic* logical or mathematical continuity such as an arithmetical progression." (pp. xviii-xix). He also thinks that "the conception of the universe as a dynamic continuity opens a

way to connect the physical universe with an inner cosmic life and spirituality." (p. xx).

Lastly, whether this creative act is instantaneous or successive, to ascertain this we would refer to Sir John Woodroffe, who says that it is "probably neither the one nor the other. That is the category of time is inapplicable to creation as such or creation as a whole. Creation considered as an instantaneous flash or a successive flow is *Vyavahārika* and not *Pāramārthika*. On this basis, however, there is a difference of opinion between *Drishti-srishti-vāda* and *Kramasrishti-vāda*. According to the first, and to me preferable, view, as *Īshvara* thought, so at once the whole world appeared in its stages as subtle and gross. At every moment also creation is taking place. It is not something wholly in the past. According to the second or more commonly accepted doctrine the *Tattvas* came out gradually the one after the other in a specified order (*Krama*) though such *Kramā* is not referable to time as we know it and which appeared at a lower stage. This latter time is the *Janmakāla* of the *Kālavādins* according to whom all is *Kāla*. The Supreme Time or *Mahākāla* is *Nirgunā Nirvishesha*; *Nirvikāra* or *Brahman*." (Garland of Letters, pp. 43-44).

BEPINBEHARI NIWGE

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY: ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH

(Prior to the Embassy of Sir William Norris to Aurangzeb)

The mission of Sir William Norris to the Court of the Emperor Aurangzeb on behalf of the New or English East India Company occurred at a momentous epoch both as regards the power and condition of the Mogul Empire, and also the stage to which the efforts of the English to promote their trade with India had then attained. On the one hand the power of the Mogul ruler seemed to be at its height and beyond the reach of assault; on the other the position of all the European traders in the Peninsula looked insecure and uncertain, and this prospect was made darker for them by their own rivalry and jealousies. It is not surprising, therefore, that the newly-formed Company which had to justify the patronage of the King William III, and also to recover the immense sums it had risked on its enterprise, should have resolved to depute a specially qualified representative, like Sir William Norris, to plead its case before the Indian Emperor and to secure as much of his favour as might be obtainable. To appreciate the situation both in England and in India at the time of his deputation it is necessary to make a brief retrospect.

The founding of the London East India Company—that daring attempt of enthusiastic Londoners to capture or share in the wealthy trade with the East Indies—was the direct fruit of the peace and restored finances which England owed to the Tudor Queen Elizabeth and her far-sighted statesman Lord Burleigh, and probably to their immediate inspiration. One of the main needs of the country was a strong navy; the long ocean voyage to India by the newly-discovered route would provide excellent training for sailors; while the hoped for

wealth should prove a strong incentive to the private ship-building which Queen Elizabeth earnestly desired to encourage.

For these reasons, impressed by the national advantages that would accrue from undertaking the East India trade, inspired with pride and ambition for her merchants, and not unmindful of personal interest, Elizabeth had manifested her favour by the support she gave to several private undertakings to establish trade with the East Indies that followed on the overthrow of the Spanish Armada. All these attempts failed, but the public interest had been aroused, and it was only natural that the Merchant Adventurers of London, who had established trade with Russia and the Levant, should throw themselves with avidity into the task of opening new markets for their industry. Thus it happened that when the Merchants of the City met at Founders' Hall on September 22, 1599, for the purpose of concerting the necessary measures to establish a direct trade with India, they felt well assured of the patronage and active support of their Royal Mistress. They petitioned the Queen to stimulate and sanction their efforts by the grant of a Charter; but as delicate negotiations were in progress for restoring peace with Spain some delay occurred, and it was not till December 31 of the year 1600 that the Royal Charter¹ was signed, incorporating the "London East India Company" under the style and title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies." The Charter contained "a privilege for fifteen years granted by Her Majesty to certain adventurers for the discovery of the trade for the East Indies." The original Charter thus limited the grant to fifteen years, but it is opportune to state here that in May 1609, James I gave the Company "the monopoly of trade and traffic to the East Indies for ever." This

¹ Only a copy of this Charter is known, that preserved at the India office. See the Introduction by Sir George Birdwood to William Grigg's *Relics of the Honourable East India Company*.

monopoly was not greatly respected by his successors. Charles I gave Courten's Association a limited Charter in 1635 and Cromwell conferred a similar privilege on the Company of Merchant Adventurers in 1655, but both were absorbed shortly after their formation by the London Company.

It has been stated that prior to signing the Charter Queen Elizabeth despatched John Mildenhall on a mission to the Court of the Great Mogul requesting him to grant privileges to the Company she was about to charter but all the evidence shows that this statement is without foundation. It is true that John Mildenhall, who had traded as a merchant in the near East, did visit India and is said to have resided at Agra for three years, where he was received in audience by the Emperor Akbar; but this was in an entirely private capacity and not as a Royal Envoy.¹ When Captain William Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe accomplished their missions in the years 1609 and 1616 respectively, Elizabeth had given place to James I, and Akbar the Great had been succeeded by Jehangir.

Before this time Indo-European commerce had been by its very nature monopolistic. Trade by any of the two known routes had been arduous, hazardous, and costly. Relatively, the new route was far cheaper, and hence the trade was likely to attract competitors, who, if they were English subjects, could only, if at all, be excluded by Charter. The early voyages were taken on separate stock, but in 1612 all funds were amalgamated, to be officially administered by the Governor and Committee; while in 1657 the capital was treated as a permanent fund, not to be returned to subscribers.

Yet in little more than a century it was led by many different but concatenating circumstances to take upon itself political responsibilities and work which converted the trading

¹ See pp. 48 to 59 of *The Early Travels in India*, edited by William Foster, C.I.E., Oxford University Press, 1921.

Company into a Governing Power. Among those circumstances the two most important were, first, the gradual decay of the Mogul Empire, which substituted for a central authority the rivalries of ambitious chiefs and warlike races that opened the way for the intrusion of foreigners in the affairs of the Peninsula. The second circumstance related to the extension of Anglo-French rivalry to a fresh scene leading to the appearance of their forces and activities in opposing camps in Hindostan. One cause dovetailed with the other. If the Central Government had not been weak and decaying the rivalry of the foreigners would not have reacted on the affairs and fortunes of India; if the contest of two great European Powers had not extended to that Eastern scene the misfortunes and the fall of the Mogul Empire might never have been more than a domestic incident. An examination of the East India Company's Records will reveal that the Court in London long set its face against political adventures, and the practice of interfering in the quarrels and strife of the Country Powers did not come into fashion until half-a-century later when the movement began which gradually imposed upon the Company administrative and political tasks that completely dwarfed its commercial mission.

The first expedition sent out by the London Company was under the command of Captain James Lancaster and sailed from Woolwich on February 13, in the year 1601. Its destination, however, was not India, but the Spice Islands, and more particularly Sumatra. The voyage was successful and resulted in the founding of the first English Factory at Bantam in the Island of Java. The second expedition, led by Captain Henry Middleton in 1604, also sailed for and reached Bantam, where it consolidated the position; and it was not until the third voyage in 1606-9 that India was brought within the range of the Company's operations. Captain Hawkins, who commanded the ship *Hector*, proceeded on February 1, 1609, to the Court of Jehangir at Agra, and

was permitted to reside there in high favour for some time. It was not until the tenth voyage, led by Captain Thomas Best in 1612, that the Company obtained the right to establish a factory at Surat, and this result was mainly due to prowess displayed in defeating a larger Portuguese squadron. Altogether twelve separate voyages were made between the years 1600 and 1612, and profits up to 132 per cent. were said to have been received from the disposal of the cargoes. Several other factories, besides Bantam and Surat, were established, and marked progress was made in consolidating the Company's position after the successful embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, on the part of James I, to the Mogul Emperor Jehangir in 1615. Trade was also undertaken with Persia and Japan—the former country affording a market for English goods and Indian spices. As time went on, the Company steadily extended its operations, sometimes meeting with rebuff, sometimes with encouragement, placing factories at strategic points of the Coast, until the entire sea-board of Asia, from Persia, round the Coast of the Peninsula, was dotted with settlements, each a centre of its trade.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Company was operating in four main spheres where their factories were roughly controlled by the authority of the principal stations (or capital factories) within these spheres, namely, Surat, on the Western Coast, Madras, on the East, and Hooghly in Bengal. Madras was the centre of a highly important trade; yet it, like the others, suffered considerably from the “war, tyranny, and the malignity of rivals” that “had almost overwhelmed the British trade in other parts of India.” The English alliance with France in the reign of Charles II led to Dutch attacks on factories of both French and English Companies, only ceasing temporarily with a cessation of hostilities in Europe. Hooghly was founded in 1642, and owing to its remoteness from the scenes of the

more or less continuous warfare that marked the Mogul conquest; and the nature of its commodities, *i.e.*, saltpetre and silk, which were highly esteemed in England, it caused the Company less trouble than any other of its stations; but in 1686, after being harassed by the exactions of the Mogul Governor, the factors withdrew to Chuttanutte, the future Calcutta, where they shortly afterwards erected the Fort named after William III.

In 1668 the Company was greatly helped by the acquisition of the Island of Bombay, part of the dowry of the Portuguese wife of Charles II. Sovereign privileges were attached to the grant; and by its possession the prestige of the English was greatly enhanced. Its value as a centre of authority and trade was not long in being recognised. In 1681 Bengal was separated from Madras, and "an agent and Governor appointed to superintend the affairs of the Bay of Bengal." In 1683 Madras was constituted a Presidency. There were then three principal Presidencies, Bombay, Madras and Bengal.

It will not be out of place to take a glance at the condition of India herself during the period when Aurangzeb began a fresh era of conquest. He desired to extend his sovereignty over the southern kingdoms of the Peninsula. He achieved, by force or by treachery, for he was not scrupulous in his methods, many successes, and in form at least the consummation of his wishes, for his Viceroys ruled in the Deccan and the Carnatic. But his triumph was less considerable and certain than he imagined, for he had alienated Hindu sentiment where Akbar had conciliated it, and he thus raised up formidable future rivals to the power of his successors.

These were the Maharattas, who inhabited Khandesh and Malwa, holding a strong natural frontier in the Vindhya and Satpura hills. About the time that Aurangzeb began his offensive movement towards the South these people had found a great

leader in the person of Sivaji, a master in the art of irregular warfare. His followers were all mounted on excellent horses, and their raids were carried on with more or less impunity from Guzerat to Tanjore, as they eluded the heavily-equipped and slow-moving armies of the Emperor. In 1664 Sivaji attacked and plundered the rich city of Surat, but his attempt to capture the English factory was repulsed by Sir George Oxenden, who, as a modern writer on Surat has asserted, "like Pope Leo at Rome before Attila in the story, saved the city by their bold front." His courage was rewarded as "Aurangzebe granted to the English a perpetual exemption from a portion of the customs exacted from the traders of other nations at Surat."¹

In 1666 Sivaji was induced to proceed to Delhi to pay homage to the Emperor, but after his arrival there he conceived doubts of his personal safety and fled. He then resumed his former life, harassing the Moguls where he could and plundering in all directions. In 1670 some of his forces made a fresh attempt on the Surat Factory, but were again repulsed. The power and reputation of Shivaji continued to increase and in 1674 he assumed the title of Raja and the insignia of royalty at Raigarh. After his death in 1680 his son and successor Sambhuji was captured by Aurangzebe and put to death. But the Emperor spared his infant son Sahu, who was released some years afterwards and restored to his authority as the national leader of the Maharattas. Sahu ruled at Satara during forty years. It will thus be seen that however hollow his success may have been in reality Aurangzeb was apparently at the zenith of his power when Sir William Norris reached his Court.

It will have been observed that the path of the Company was not an easy one. Portuguese rivalry was not formidable,

¹ See Vol. I, pp. 183-99 of *A History of the Mahrattas*, by James Grant Duff, London, 1926.

but the Dutch proved stubborn foes. The English tried in vain to establish themselves on the Spice Islands—the massacre of their people at Amboyna forced them to realize their limitations, and to conclude that the most hopeful field was in India. The Dutch were keen competitors in this quarter, and enjoyed a superiority in ships which they turned to account by capturing or sinking many of the Company's best vessels. The Dutch had no scruples in their proceedings, which culminated in the treacherous massacre of Amboyna in March 1623. Later, the Dutch intrigued with the Princes on the Malabar Coast, and their attacks and cruelties gave Cromwell a handle for declaring war on Holland. The Protector succeeded in effecting an honourable peace in 1654, but after the Restoration a fresh war broke out between England and Holland. One of the incidents of the struggle was an attempt by the Dutch to capture Bombay, which is described by Alexander Hamilton as follows :

"In the year 1673 the Dutch East India Company having an eye on Bombay, sent a Squadron of ships, with a little Army, to try if they could take it in amongst their other conquests of India, but, on their landing, met with so warm a reception, that they were glad to get off with the loss of 200 or 300 of their men, and so left the English to the quiet possession of it."¹ All the differences between the Dutch and the English were settled by the Treaty of Westminster in 1674, and the Dutch have retained their undisputed command of Java and other Islands of the Archipelago down to the present day.

A striking proof of the feelings of resentment raised in England by the arbitrary proceedings of the Dutch, of which the massacre of Amboyna had been the most tragic incident, is furnished by Dryden's *Amboyna a Tragedy*. The Prologue,

¹ See Vol I, p. 187, of *A New Account of the East Indies...*, by Captain Alexander Hamilton, Edinburgh, 1727.

from which the following lines are taken, expresses the strong popular feeling of the day :

“ The doteage of some Englishmen is such
To fawn on those who ruine them ; the Dutch
They shall have all rather than make a War
With those who of the same Religion are.
The Streights, the Guiney Trade, the Herrings too,
Nay, to keep friendship they shall pickle you :
Some are resolved not to find out the cheat,
But cuckold like, loves him who does the Feat.
What injuries see’r upon us fall,
“ Yet still the same Religion answers all :
Religion wheedled you to civil War,
Drew English Blood, and Dutchmens now would spare.”

At home the wavering conduct of the Crown added to the difficulties of the Company. In 1635 Charles I. in need of money sold, as previously stated, a license for trade in the East to Courten’s Association, restricting its operations, however, to such parts as were not already occupied by the original Company. Increase of business attracted “ Interlopers,” who were followed almost as a natural consequence by the advent of Pirates. The principles of free trade began to be thought out and examined. Indeed, during part of the Interregnum in England, trade was thrown open to all, but in 1657, after a long discussion in the Committee of Trade, the Company was re-established on its old permanent basis, while Charles II

Dryden also wrote “ Aurangzeb ” an heroic poem which was first printed and acted at the Royal Theatre in 1676. It was dedicated to the Earl of Mulgrave, who brought it to the notice of the King, whereupon Charles II expressed the opinion that it was the best of all his tragedies, a view in which the author concurred. As regards the characters Dr. Johnson said that “ the personages are imperial ; but the dialogue is often domestic, and therefore susceptible of sentiments accommodated to familiar incidents.” Professor Saintsbury considered that Dryden must have derived his information from Bernier. Mr. Edmund Gosse in his *History of Eighteenth Century Literature*, styled the Great Mogul as an “ Indian potentate, the Sultan Aurangzeb.” It may be noted that the title of “ Sultan ” is not applicable to Aurangzeb and bold as it may appear to criticise Mr. Gosse, I must observe that *Padshah* is the just equivalent for the style of Emperor. Dr. Johnson’s comments appear to us more apposite than those of our modern critics.

in 1661 granted a new Charter and the patronage of the Court was bestowed. This, however, only aroused further jealousy and criticism. Other Charters were granted in 1676 and 1683. The latter was important because it empowered the Company to seize the ships and goods of all unlicensed traders within their limits; to erect forts, appoint governors, make peace and war and use martial law, the crown interposing if necessary; courts of judicature were to be established abroad.

Its monopoly was not made the only ground for attacks on the Company. It was accused of draining the country of bullion—there being no great demand for English goods—and of absorbing capital sorely needed for home development. Its trade, it was represented, was of little value to the English manufacturing classes. The long and dangerous voyages to the East, moreover, employed ships and men who were thereby prevented from answering to a call in an emergency; besides which there was great loss of life and material.

In these critical times the Company's policy was largely guided by its Chairman, Sir Josiah Child, who was a forerunner of those who believed that the growth of the Company would depend mainly on its political action. His chief achievement was to supersede in 1686 Surat as the head station in favour of Bombay, which he described as "the Key of India." By this step he hoped to shake off the arbitrary control of the Mogul Governors of Surat, and to concentrate the power and efforts of the Company in the Island of Bombay, which was a sovereign possession, independent of the authority of the Mogul Emperor and his Governors. At that time another bearer of the name, Sir John Child, but not related¹ to the Chairman of the Company, was Deputy Governor of Bombay, and to give more significance to the change his title was raised to that of "General and Director in Chief of all the Company's

¹ Several writers including Macaulay and Sir George Birdwood have attested the fact that the two Childs were brothers; but Ray and Mrs. Oliver Strachey in their book "Keigwin's Rebellion" have proved for the first time that there was no relationship between them. See pp. 162-3.

Factories in India." He mismanaged the administration of Bombay and this led to Keigwin's rebellion in 1683. Speaking generally he was not worthy of his position, and his incapacity as an administrator had become notorious before his death in 1689. Sir John Gayer was then sent out from England to put in practice Sir Josiah Child's axiom that the height of wisdom lay in "the balancing of power," that is to say, on consistent and persistent shifting from one side to the other as the interest of the moment prompted, which has been a marked feature ever since in English policy, not only in Asia but in Europe.

In 1689, the year of the Revolution in England, when the Company lost the Court patronage they had hitherto enjoyed, they "determined to consolidate their position in India on a basis of territorial sovereignty in order to acquire the political status of an independent power in their dealings with the Moguls and the Maharattas, and to this end passed the famous resolution for the guidance of local Governments in India." The text runs as follows: "The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care, as much as our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India; without that we are but a great number of interlopers, united by His Majesty's royal Charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent us; and upon this account it is that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices that we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of their revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade. And the last, *viz.*, revenue, is the soul and life of all the rest."

In England, a temporary alliance by the Company was made with the "Interlopers," but there was no real union. The Whigs wished to overthrow the autocracy of Sir Josiah Child; the "Interlopers" to obtain freedom to take part in a trade which had been built up at such tremendous cost, and whose intricacies they could not appreciate. The accession of

William III brought new anxiety to the Company, who naturally supposed his favour would be given to the Dutch East India Company. However, owing to his financial necessities, the new King showed favour to the London Company, and for the time they were able to retain their authority for dealing with the "Interlopers," to whom they showed little mercy.

The question between free traders, "Interlopers," and the London East India Company had by now become a public one. Already the "Interlopers" had roused a popular clamour against a legal decision given in favour of the Company. The House of Commons debated the matter and decided against the Company, and since that time monopolies have been considered illegal, opposition to the Company was revived when the latter appealed in 1694 for a renewal of its Charter. Macaulay with his usual vividness describes the exact situation prevailing at this great turning point in the conduct of English trade with India: "The contest between the two East India Companies was, during the autumn of 1693, fiercer than ever. The House of Commons, finding the Old Company obstinately averse to all compromise, had, a little before the close of the late session, requested the king to give the three years' warning prescribed by the Charter [before dissolving the Company]." Child and his fellows now began to be seriously alarmed. They expected every day to receive the dreaded notice. Nay, they were not sure that their exclusive privilege might not be taken away without any notice at all: for they found that they had, by inadvertently omitting to pay, at the precise time fixed by law, the tax lately imposed on their stock, forfeited their Charter; and though it would, in ordinary circumstances, have been thought cruel in the government to take advantage of such a slip, the public was not inclined to allow the Old Company anything more than the strict letter of the covenant. All was lost if the Charter were not renewed before the meeting of Parliament. There can be little doubt that the proceedings of the Corporation were still really directed by Child,

But he had, it should seem, perceived that his unpopularity had injuriously affected the interests which were under his care, and therefore did not obtrude himself on the public notice. His place was ostensibly filled by his near kinsman Sir Thomas Cook, one of the greatest merchants of London, and Member of Parliament for the borough of Colchester.¹

At this time the Company's resources were already severely strained by a responsibility incurred through the piratical action of certain English corsairs in the Indian Ocean. Two Moslem pilgrim boats had been plundered, and a vessel captured. The Mogul Emperor used pressure to insist on the Company's agreement to convoy all vessels containing pilgrims to Mecca. For a time the arrangement succeeded, but soon the Company proved unequal to their task, through loss or treachery of their own convoys. At one time the pirates were organised by "a notorious Captain Kidd," who was able to blockade both coasts of the Peninsula and who drew stores from New York and had a port in Madagascar.

This was the period to which Bruce thus refers, in his *Annals of the East India Company*: "If the relaxed state of the Mogul Government had been one source of the Company's embarrassment, at the seats of their trade in the West of India, the increasing number of the pirates was a more alarming evil; formerly a distinction could be made between the pirates and the Interlopers; but, in the last year, they could scarcely be distinguished; in this season, their characters became the same; both had plunder, only, for their object, and both made prizes of whatever ships were unable to resist them....." Sir John Gayer was even more emphatic in pointing out the evil consequences that must follow to the Company's trade and reputation from the excesses of the pirates. He wrote to the Directors: "If there be not care taken to suppress pirates in India, and to empower your

¹ See Vol. V, pp. 2377 of Macaulay's *History of England*, edited by Professor C. H. Firth, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1914.

servants there to punish them according to their deserts without fear of being traduced for what they have done when they return to their native country, it's probable their threats will be all out in a little time by malefactors, and the natives of the country in revenge for their frequent losses, as well as your Honour's trade in India wholly lost."

In 1695 an enquiry had been held by Parliament into the accusation of corruption brought against the Company. It was found that over £100,000 had been expended in secret service, the recipients being among other high public officials, the Duke of Leeds, better known as the Earl of Danby. Meanwhile opposition to the Company in England was accumulating. In 1696 "the silk-weavers of London were extremely outrageous and tumultuous, on pretence of the great quantities of silks, calicoes, and other Indian manufactures, imported by the East India Company, and worn by all sorts of people. They even carried their violence so far as to attempt seizing the treasure at the East India House, and had almost succeeded in it, but were in the end reduced to order." To meet popular clamour, the Company engaged a Dr. Davenant to write a pamphlet on their trade, to which their opponents replied through John Pollexfen in his brochure "England and East India Inconsistent in their Manufactures."

Matters came to a head in 1698. In this year the Government advertised its need for an immediate loan of £2,000,000. The Old Company's capital was now reduced to about £754,000. In return for confirmation of their exclusive rights they offered £7,000,000 to the Government at 4 per cent., at the same time inviting subscriptions for the rest of the sum. They were, however, outbid by the recently formed association under Mr. Shepherd, which enjoyed the favour of Mr. Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer. This

¹ See Vol. II, pp. 693-4 of the *Annals of Commerce*....., by David Macpherson.

association offered a loan of £2,000,000 at 8 per cent., also in return for exclusive rights of Indian trade, and gained the day. As they received much of their support from Free Traders, it was provided that subscribers might trade individually, but that on application to the King, the Company might be formed on a joint-stock basis. As this was done within two months, it was probably the original intention of the promoters.

The Old Company at a General Court of Adventurers held on the 13th January, 1698-99, expressed their willingness to join in a coalition with the subscribers to the Two Millions on reasonable terms and left it to the Grand Committee of fifty-two to advise on this matter. At a further meeting on February 7, it was resolved that 7 of the Old Company should be empowered to treat with 7 of the New Company, and their first meeting took place at the Skinners' Hall on March 22.

Protracted negotiations concerning the settlement of stock between the two Companies appear to have continued from March 30 to December 22, 1699. At the meeting of the Grand Committee of the Old Company on July 20, a letter was read from Whitehall, dated July 18, stating that the Lords Justices desired to know what was taking place between the two Companies. The answer sent was that they were meeting the Committee of the New Company. At the last meeting held on December 22, 1699, members of both Companies met at the Skinners' Hall, and after some discussion, no minutes were taken, and the matter left undecided, each Company expecting concessions from the other and therefore "both sides forbore any further discourses."¹

Meanwhile the London Company issued instructions to Sir John Gaye, Governor of Bombay, to urge their servants to increase their stock, to disregard the insinuations of their rivals and to beware of their activities. Later further

¹ See Rawl MS. A. 302, Bodleian.

instructions were sent to the effect that the fortifications being now equal to the defence of property, shipping and stock could be "increased in proportion to the difficulties they had to surmount."¹ Those pleadings, though they failed in their immediate object, had the effect of stimulating the action of the New or English East India Company, which in the first place proposed a compromise. This Company had already determined to emulate the earlier action of its rivals and send an Ambassador, Sir William Norris, to the Court of the Great Mogul.

Surat at that time was one of the chief places of trade in India. Its unrivalled situation on the river Tapti afforded great facilities for shipping and commerce. A strong castle protected by large cannon and surrounded by a moat, having only one entrance through a large pair of stone gates, joined together with bars of iron, made it almost impregnable and added to the advantage of its stronghold. The Mogul's mint was there to which all the foreign gold and silver were brought to be coined for the business transactions of the merchants. Trade was carried on with the adjacent countries and the best products of the Empire, such as diamonds, rich velvets, silks, cottons and other valuable things were brought down to Surat for disposal. The Governors of Surat castle were appointed by the Mogul Emperor under very strict conditions, for during their time of office lasting three years, they were never allowed to leave the castle. Also the Governors of the city, who managed all the civil affairs, though not virtually prisoners like the castle governors, seem to have rarely left their posts. These severe restrictions, seem to show how uncertain the conditions of life were in those days.²

At the moment when the New Company appeared on the scene the representative of the Old Company were

¹ See Vol. III, pp. 254-6 of Bruce's Annals.

² See *A Voyage to Surat, in the year, 1689*, by J. Ovington, London, 1696; and also *A Compendious History of the Indian Wars*, by Clement Downing.

beset with many difficulties at Surat, which, despite the transfer of the Presidency to Bombay, remained the principal centre of foreign trade in Western India. The local Governor, by order of the Emperor, whose ire was raised by the capture of several of his ships by the pirates, presented an ultimatum to the English Factory requiring not merely compensation for the losses, but a guarantee to clear the seas of pirates and to provide a sufficient convoy for the pilgrim ships. The Factory was just as anxious as the Emperor to destroy the pirates, but it had not the means at its disposal, and the only course remained open was to temporise and gain time. But the Emperor's orders were imperative, and the English were either to give the guarantees demanded, or to be expelled. An armed force was sent to blockade, and if necessary to attack the English Factory, and all the persons connected with the Factory's operations in the city were arrested, publicly whipped and imprisoned. The Dutch Factory, threatened at the same time as the English, made a prompt surrender to the Governor's demands; and although Sir John Gayer came up from Bombay in an armed ship to forbid any yielding the President Annesley, with the unanimous assent of his colleagues, agreed to the Governor's demands. They only yielded when the Factory was surrounded by the excited soldiery threatening them with death and hoping for plunder. This was "the dark moment" in the fortunes of Surat, and to complete the ignominy of the situation it was at that very juncture that the news arrived that the Old Company had been deposed in favour of an entirely new body which had just been erected under Royal favour.¹

HARIHAR DAS

¹ This article will form one of the chapters of the writer's forthcoming book on "The Embassy of Sir William Norris to Aurangzeb." Any amendment which this article may require will be inserted in the publication referred to above.—H.D.

THE SPIRIT OF INTOLERANCE IN PORTUGAL

"Within two generations after the passing of the Separation Law, Catholic religion will have been annihilated in Portugal," were the words of the Portuguese Republican Minister, who drafted the Separation Law of Church and State. These utterances need no comment. They recall, of course, the inordinate vanity of the mediæval knight-errant, whose intolerance fevered the blood of the nation and exhausted her spirits.

It would, perhaps, be ridiculous to represent the conditions of the times when Portugal was ready to enforce religious belief by the rack and the state, to be repeated in the twentieth century. But between the present situation and that of the fifteenth century there exists, as it seems to us, an analogy, the points of resemblance of which we must not exaggerate, but which nevertheless, it may be useful to consider. In former times, falsehoods that the Jews insulted the Host and murdered Christian children, were greedily swallowed by the populace. No rumour was too absurd for the easy credulity of the people. King Affonso V had appointed a Jew to be his minister of finance. Jewish physicians had prescribed for Kings John I. and John II. The mathematician and astrologer whom King Manuel I consulted before resuming the maritime exploration was a Jew. But the populace always complained of the treachery of Jews. Hence the intolerant edicts ordering the Jews to leave the country and every conveyance cunningly withdrawn from them. Hence the savage massacres of Lisbon, when thousands of Jews were dragged upon scaffolds and hanged or hacked to pieces by the fanatical mob. Their women were violated and subjected to every outrage and their homes made desolate. Every Jewish child under fourteen, was ordered to be taken away from its parents and brought up as

a Christian ! "However that was done," wrote Osorio, the Bishop of Silves, in his chronicle of the reign of King Manuel, "neither in accordance with law nor with religion. How indeed, would you compel rebellious hearts in no wise bound by having accepted a religion, to believe those things which they despise and reject with the greatest aversion. Do you take upon yourself to hinder the freedom of the will and to impose bonds upon unfettered minds ? But that cannot be done, neither does the most holy spirit of Christ approve of it." But once the Jews, who were the backbone of commerce, were made to abandon the country and go northwards in search of liberty, Portugal's commercial greatness vanished, and she lost her wealth because she recoiled from a duty that self-preservation imposed.

History however, repeats itself : not in the events of course, but in the psychology of the people. Like the Jews, the Jesuits are now looked upon as a caste apart and regarded as a body of objectionable kind. "They are," said the late Professor Teofilô Braga, the first President of the Portuguese Revolutionary Government, "anomaly in modern civilization," and like convicts, they were sent to the anthropometric station to be measured and photographed for the benefit of the Republican press that published their photographs with the number assigned to each Jesuit as the criminal of the worst description. "The magnificent College of Campolide is—or rather was two weeks ago—a very large and concrete fact," wrote a distinguished British journalist, discussing some causes of the Portuguese Revolution, in the *Nineteenth Century Review* (Nov., 1910). "It was the only educational and scientific institution in Portugal worthy of the names. It had three hundred boys, some of them the sons of Republican leaders. It turned out during the fifty years of its existence, a long list of distinguished men. It published a scientific magazine called the *Broteria* which is favourably known to scientists all over the world." "The

correspondents who visited Campolide after its destruction, saw a strange spectacle. The Republican apostles of progress and enlightenment were smashing the valuable microscopes and up-to-date scientific apparatus of the so-called obscurantist priests." "Judging by the studies and library of Campolide, the Jesuits," added the writer, "seemed to have been trying in a hard-headed business-like way that would do credit to Glasgow, to direct the attention of Young Portugal to concrete things like Metallurgy, Zoology, Botany, Modern languages, Modern business methods, Engineering, etc."

An English writer at the time of the Restoration of Charles II, divided into three classes those who neither love nor trust the Jesuits. "The first and worst of all," he wrote, "are some Catholics who have such a tooth against the Jesuits that they cannot afford them a good word." "A second sort," he observed, "are those whose watchword is 'root and branch,' the king being for them a Papist, the Pope a monster and Jesuits his horns." "The third sort," he added, "are adversaries not out of malice but prevented by a prejudicate opinion." To these latter belong the Portuguese who still believe in the Crypto-Jesuit stealing about the country in disguise. The famous underground passages of the Jesuit convents at Lisbon, illustrated the lengths to which Portuguese credulity can go. The very description of these subterranean passages, which appeared in a Republican daily, was a literal translation taken from a story by Edgar Allen Poe!

The Republican decree contained the following article: "The law of the absolute regime of August 28, 1757 and that of September 3, 1759 amplifying and explaining it, under which the Jesuits were obliged to quit Portugal and her dependencies immediately remain in force as the law of the Republic." It is psychologically interesting, this revival of the laws of the absolute regime in a Republican decree.

The Republican leaders in their eagerness to cater for the so-called public opinion of the moment, were, however,

limited in their action to the success of the day. The expulsion-at-any-price furnished the foreign representatives with just grounds for condemning the perfidious dealings of the budding statesmen. "If your law was going to bring international complications, why did you pass it?" Wrote Machado dos Santos, the naval officer—assassinated since by the Republicans—who, to quote Teófilo Braga's historic phrase, "made the Republic and then handed it over as a shoemaker hands over a pair of shoes to the customer."

The decree against the Religious Orders was also met with unflinching opposition by the various foreign congregations scattered over the Portuguese possessions in Africa. Their rights were guaranteed by the General Acts of the Berlin Conference of February, 1885, and the Conference of Brussels of July, 1890. It was perfectly astounding that Republican politicians should have undertaken to legislate for religious orders in Portuguese Colonies without consulting the signatory powers of international treaties whose provisions these legislators ignored.

Incensed by the failure of his plans, and stung with mortification at being made the laughing stock in the eyes of the nation, Affonso Costa—that is the name of the Republican Minister who drafted the Separation Law of Church and State—resumed his desperate trade with renewed activity, and the haughty tone of the Separation Law showed too plainly, that it was framed throughout, with a feeling of distrust and jealousy of the Church.

The Republic proclaimed the freedom of all religions without recognizing any particular one, interdicting, however, any exterior sign of religion which was placed under supervision of civil authorities (art. 58) but it claimed the right to dictate to the Church that it shall have to apply at least a third of Church endowments—which are the results of private gifts and not state provision and therefore, are as sacred as private property—to acts of beneficence and charity (art. 32).

Further in the name of *liberty* that it granted to all (art. 2) the Portuguese legislator, eager to limit the Church in its power of providing financially for the future, decreed that the Church could not acquire goods by donation or by testamentary dispositions (art. 28). Again, in the name of the same *liberty* it allowed no minister of religion, who is a foreigner or a naturalized Portuguese, to take part in any act of public worship without due consent from the Republican authority (art. 178) a provision which outraged the Catholic feeling, for even anarchists are in Portugal at liberty to hold meetings and listen to any foreign orator explain his formula, social and chemical. The Republic separated itself from the Church but by a singular paradox, this very Republic with no definite ethical or religious position at all, retained the right of intervening in the working of seminaries, now reduced in number, and directing the education of priests (arts. 184-186). It proclaimed that no one could be questioned by any authority regarding his religious belief (art. 3) but it threatened with penalties any Portuguese who in future being graduate of any faculty of theology or canon law of the Pontifical Universities of Rome, should exercise his ministry in Portugal (art. 177).

The Republican law-giver every inch a fanatic, and every thought a bigot, did not hesitate to encourage the violation of the law of celibacy. He promised the apostate not only a good pension but that he would be preferred by law before any other citizen for any civil post (art. 151). Such was the bait with which the priests were to be lured on to their ruin. The Portuguese politician was probably inspired by the example of those who aimed at the creation of a National Church in Revolutionary France, and sought to bribe the clergy by promising a substantial amelioration of their condition. But the pension scheme which was intended to foment rebellion in Portugal against the Church, its hierarchy and its institutions brought the whole clergy into a firm

phalanx of opposition under those very leaders of whom it was intended to deprive them. The Separation Law aroused not so much condemnation as pity for the spirit it displayed.

Aiming at pointing out the chief defects in the Portuguese Separation Law, to-day the law of Portugal—we may observe—we make no claim to originality in a field that has been gone over by the ablest critics. "The Separation Law is," said the Jewish Rabbi Moise Netter in the *Univers Israelite*, "a crude piece of work which offends commonsense, decency, reason and tradition. Therefore the Roman Pontiff very rightly declares it to be unacceptable to the Portuguese Church. It is the work of a narrow-minded obstinate sectarian and shows an incredible lack of political foresight. It must provoke protest not only from the Catholic Church but from all impartial men who are desirous of safeguarding the imperishable rights of conscience." The common conscience and the common interests of humanity—we may add—are too strong to tolerate so immoral a paradox.

"It is worth recording that during the French Revolution," wrote the distinguished French Jesuit Rev. Camille Torrend in the *Dublin Review* (January, 1914) "under circumstances slightly more critical, five French Bishops out of about eighty-five, acted against their conscience, at the bidding of the tyrants, while in Portugal there has not been a single case of weakness among thirteen prelates. It might perhaps, be argued that their courage was not so very conspicuous at the very beginning of the persecution. The Bishops have been accused of timidity in delaying their protest for so long and because they did not all maintain it afterwards with the same courage that did Monsignor Barroso, the Bishop of Oporto. Be that as it may, their final conduct deserves all our admiration." The Portuguese Bishops, indeed, refused to bend or deny their convictions at the bidding of the fourth-rate tyrant who represented the omnipotence of the new Law.

"António Barroso, you are a man. You are a Portuguese; and the Republic would be proud if you were a republican" (*Oxford and Cambridge Review*, July, 1911) were the words of Affonso Costa—a noble sentiment, indeed, but falling with no particular grace from the lips of the Republican Minister who summoned the aged Bishop to Lisbon and suspended him from the exercise of his episcopal functions. The Bishop made his entry into Lisbon amid the jeers and shouts of the infuriated mob that either from intolerance or abject superstition, saw in the humiliation of a Bishop a sacrifice most acceptable to the goddess of Liberty.

The late Dom António Barroso, the Bishop of Porto, who was formerly Bishop of Mylapore, with jurisdiction over the Portuguese Missions in Bengal, was a man of austere morals and a most inflexible will. No noise of musketry would upset this Bishop who was once a missionary in the wilds of Africa.

Affonso Costa before he fled from the scene and took refuge in Paris, highly extolled the merits of his Separation Law which he believed to be *intangível*, untouchable. He has long ceased to be the Republican Minister of Justice. His ambition was to bring about the realisation of his prediction that "within two generations after the passing of the Separation Law, Catholic religion will have been annihilated in Portugal." His efforts, however, came to nothing. In that lies a lesson. It is interesting in this connection, to note that one of his many successors, the Minister of Justice in 1917-18, interviewed, not long ago, by a Lisbon daily, said:—"To-day the atmosphere of respect which the Catholic leaders have been able to create around themselves and the proofs of patriotism which they have given us in fortune and misfortune, confer upon our Catholic citizens undeniable rights. The Republicans who are in power, would act very shabbily, indeed, if they did not count them as a great element of order." Wise words these last.

"It is our duty to create christendoms in the East," said very recently, a Republican Colonial Governor, formerly a partisan of Affonso Costa, addressing a gathering at one of the episcopal seminaries where Indian candidates are trained for the priesthood. There is indeed, something ironical in this.

V. DE BRAGANCA CUNHA

THE TWO NIGHTS

The night of earth has come from voyaging far,
 And brings a dreamland netted in its toils,
 Where every wish rules sovereign of a star,
 And Wonder digs a sky to keep her spoils.
 The night has come to help the earth forlorn,
 And brings a heaven tangled in its folds,
 Where dreams fulfilled forerun the dreams unborn,
 And humblest joy eternal title holds.
 Will it be so with death—the night of life?
 And will she bring a newer brighter store
 Of happy dreams fulfilled in fruitful strife;
 And far-spread wings of soul, with deeper lore
 Than falls to earth, sweep up to heaven's feet
 Where deathless life with deathless love doth meet?

NALINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE

HOMICIDE AND ITS PUNISHMENT IN MEDIEVAL TIMES

Students of Epigraphy will, no doubt, be familiar with the inscriptions found in many parts of South India, which give us an insight into a phase of criminal administration as it was practised in the medieval days, in respect of some cases that came up for adjudication before the village elders and parochial assemblies, wherein owing to pure accident or culpable negligence, injury was caused to certain parties which culminated in some instances to such a serious dénouement as 'homicide not amounting to murder.'¹ A few lithic records have mentioned the following incidents :

1. Out hunting, a man of indifferent marksmanship mortally hit his comrade with the arrow which he had aimed at a deer ; and in expiation of his unpremeditated crime, he was required to present 32 cows to a temple for burning a lamp (A.D. 12th cent.).
2. In a friendly fencing bout, a clever but unfortunate thrust killed one of the participants ; and the offender had to provide for the burning of a lamp in the local temple (A.D. 1126).
3. An irate husband (unusually provoked or probably the worse for drink) pushed his wife down and the poor woman died ; her penitent lord worked off his brutality by burning a lamp in a temple for the peace of her soul (A.D. 12th cent.).
4. A choleric mother threw a stick at her daughter ; but this boomerang of punishment missing the refractory girl hit another child who was standing near. The latter died as a result of the injury received, and the husband of the woman had to present 32 cows to the temple for the merit of the deceased child (12th cent.).

In all these instances, it may be noted that the expiation or *prāyāschitta* for the untoward happenings took the form of a penitent donation to the local temple, and that the aggrieved party or its survivors did not come in for any share in the amount of compensation. The entirely unintentional and the

¹ Madras Epigraphical Reports for 1907, p. 77.

purely accidental nature of the offence and its sequel was of course taken into account to temper the severity of the criminal law of those days ; but it is unaccountable why the survivors of the party did not receive a portion of the levied penalty, as would have been reasonable to expect. It is not, however, impossible that this aspect of the question was also given consideration, and that the records engraved on the temple walls concerned themselves only with the religious portion of the expiation, in so far as it augmented the temple's revenues.

In a few other cases¹ also where there was justification for the meting out of a higher scale of punishment, we notice the same misplaced clemency fettering the long arm of the law. The undermentioned offences did indeed deserve their full measure of retribution and, according to our modern notions, the authors thereof ought not to have been let off with the apparently light sentences of having to provide for the burning of lamps in temples.

1. A merchant had a concubine whom another man attempted to outrage. The merchant stabbed the latter and perpetrated an eleventh century Malabar Hill tragedy ! But as he could not be prosecuted (for reasons not specified in the inscription), he compounded with the relatives of the deceased man and had a lamp burnt in the temple for the benefit of his soul (A.D. 1012).

2. A village official demanded some taxes from a woman and put her to some ordeal. The poor woman took poison and died, and the over-zealous collector of taxes was ordered by the village assembly to expiate his sin in the usual manner (A.D. 1054).

3. A certain Chêdirāyan caused the death of a man by some indiscreet act of his ; and the uncle of the murderer made a gift of lands to the temple in expiation of his nephew's crime (A.D. 1170).

4. Two men beat a man who had allowed his buffalo to trespass into a field and cause damage to the crops, and the victim died. The *blattas* of the village advised the brace of offenders to provide for a lamp in the temple (A.D. 1190).

¹ *Mad. Epig. Repts.* for 1909, p. 77 and for 1919, p. 99.

Lighting of lamps had perhaps its own moral value for both the parties; and in India where the belief in the *post mortem* tribulations of the soul of a murdered individual and in the *vendetta* of ghostly visitants is deep rooted, it is but natural to expect that some such provision as that mentioned in the records should have been made for the religious part of the expiatory penalty. In fact, one of such inscriptions actually mentions that the Brahmans of the village assembly met together to decide on the expiation that was to be prescribed for a particular offence and settled that "in order that the offender may escape the possible mischief of the revengeful soul of the victim," a lamp should be provided for the merit of the deceased man's soul. So far all right, but should not the practical and humane aspect of compensating the survivors of the deceased individual by a suitable gift of money levied from the aggressors be also thought of?

In Travancore also, a few inscriptions have been found which contain information of an analogous nature. One such record² dated in Kollam 878 (A.D. 1702); which has been published in the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, mentions that as a penalty for the assault committed by a temple official on certain other temple servants, the aggressor was forced to pay a fine to the temple treasury. This is as it should be, for the offence was only one of assault and did not involve any serious consequences. We, however, read in the chronicles of the Trivandrum Temple that offences of man-slaughter were leniently dealt with, as in the instances already quoted; but these cases had this extenuating circumstance that the delinquents were royal personages on whom retributive punishment could not naturally be inflicted in corporal form, but only in monetary equivalents, such as fines and other *prāyaścitta* donations. In illustration thereof these instances may be cited:

¹ *Mad. Epig. Rept.* for 1910, p. 85.

² *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. V, p. 55.

1. The Chēra king Kuḷasekhara-Chakravartin¹ (A.D. 1102) met in council in the Paṇaiṅgāvu Palace at Quilon and made a gift of land to the Rāmēśvara temple of that place, in expiation of the sin of having been instrumental in killing some Ariyar (probably Brahmans) connected with the temple worship.—*Quilon Record*.

2. Vīra Kēralavarman—Tiruvadi² (A.D. 1344) paid some land compensation to the survivors of some Brahmans, whose death he had caused and another similar donation for having assaulted certain temple officials.—*Temple Chronicles*.

3. Vīra Mārttāṇḍavarman (A.D. 1382)² atoned for certain atrocities he had committed, by the gift of silverpots and fines to the temple.—*Ibid*.

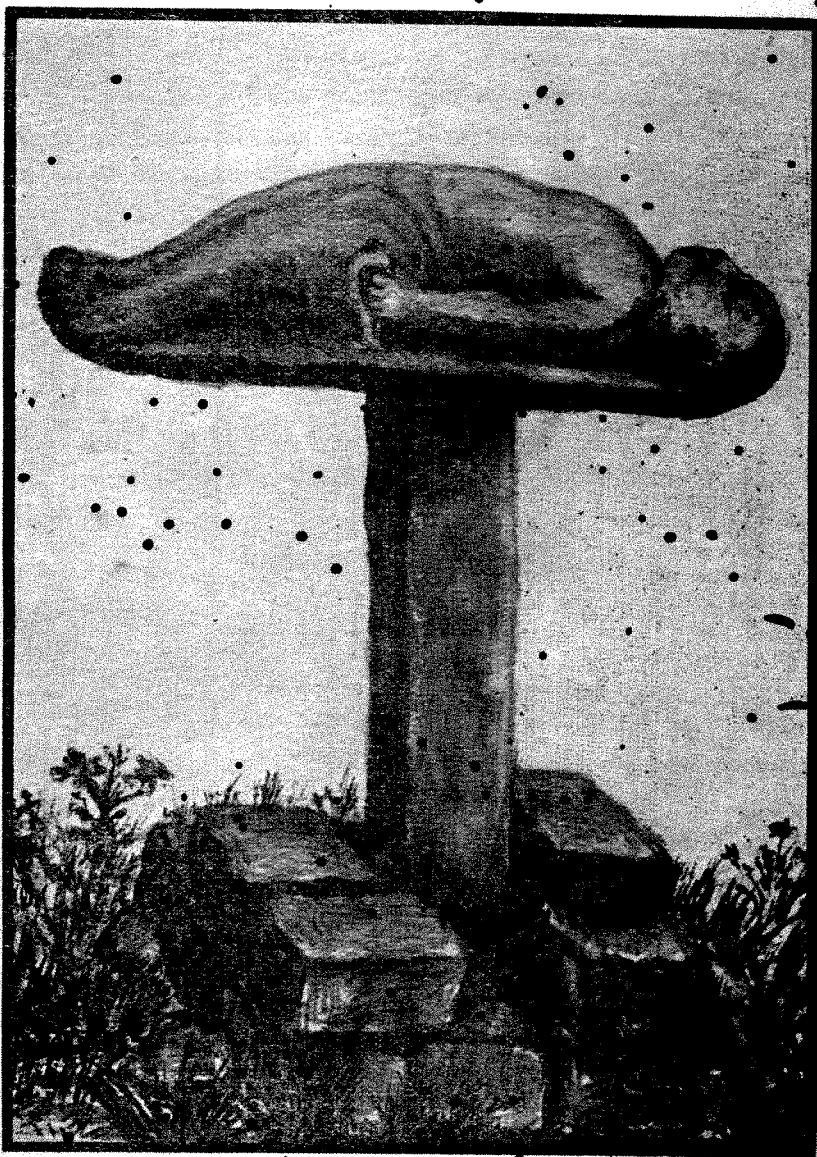
4. Vīra Rāvivarman (A.D. 1416)² paid some penalty for having killed some men in some petty scuffle. The survivors were suitably compensated.—*Ibid*.

These penalties were called *garvakkattu* or amercement for high handed conduct, and the delinquent kings were forced to pay them in order to pacify popular feeling, as voiced by the assemblies which wielded considerable power in sacerdotal matters in those days. One point is, however, noteworthy, that we find here mention of the payment of compensation to the aggrieved parties, unlike in the epigraphs on the other side of the Ghats which were apparently satisfied with the lighting of lamps in temples. That the kings had allowed themselves to be fined is itself a significant fact, and it gives us quite a different picture from what we have generally been hypnotised into believing, as the lawlessness and despotism of the Hindu rulers. This is but an echo of the ancient jurists' interpretation, that the ruler, who is a servant of the people and receive his revenue of *rakṣabhāga* as a remuneration for his services, is thus "logically liable to fines" for wrong-doing.

One more point that has to be noticed in this connection is that relating to the interesting relic called the *karuṅṅal-parihāra*, which is peculiarly Travancorean in its provenance,

¹ *Ibid* pp. 44-5.

² *Trav. State Manual*, V. I, pp. 265-6.



KARUNGAL-PARIHARAM AT TRUKKADITTANAM

and of which as many as five specimens have been found here, one in Tirukkāṭṭānam, three at Mūlīkkālam, and one at Haripād. A *Karuṅgal-parihāram* consists of the figure of a man stretched out horizontally with face staring upwards and poised in the centre of its back, where a mortise hole has been provided to fit the tenon of a short upright block of stone which is fixed firmly on the ground. The peculiar posture in which this effigy is hoisted up and its weathered appearance, kept as it generally is in the open exposed to sun and rain, give it a marked resemblance to a dead body awaiting interment.

On the significance of these effigies, Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao had suggested a few tentative hypotheses, in a paper contributed to the *Ceylon Antiquary*.¹

"The whole sculpture represents the impalement of some delinquent. It is not easy to find out in what circumstances the actual impalements (whose material representation is commemorated in sculpture, or in ceremonial impalements for which the effigy of a person is employed) were carried out; much less is it possible to ascertain the ceremonies attendant upon the symbolic impalement.

"One fact, however, is of note—namely, that these *Karuṅgal-parihārams*, or impalement stones, are in all cases found set up in front of temples, outside the main gates and opposite to it. The fact that these stones are invariably situated in front of temples indicates that the ceremony of setting up this sort of stone would have been performed in, or near the temple.

"One or two tentative hypotheses may be suggested in explanation of this curious relic of the past. It may possibly represent a pious person who, for some reason, offered up his body to the god of the temple before whom his effigy is set up, and so ended his life, the sacrifice of this devotee being commemorated by the townsmen who set up the memorial in his honour; or it may represent a hated king whose treatment of his people was harsh and to cause whose destruction his effigy was impaled. *Karuṅgal-parihāram* is applied to the *abhiṣārika* ceremony, and it was meant to strike terror in the minds of erring kings. It is impossible at present unquestionably to arrive at the true explanation."

¹ *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. I, pp. 80-1.

On the other hand, Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar in an interesting note on the same subject in the *Annual Report* of the Archæological Department for 1921 has repudiated the theory of impalement and has suggested that the accomplishment of a meritorious deed of self-sacrifice was meant to be commemorated by the sculpture :

"In other parts of India this class of monuments called the *Karuvāṅgal-parihāram* is not found. As regards the nature of the monument, it may be said that the name is fairly suggestive. Since *parihāra* means 'remedy' and *karuvāṅgal* 'a stone' it must have been originally designed to ward off impending evils that might have disturbed the peaceful celebration of the intended object. It may be regarded as a substitute devised in later times for such sacrifices as had been wont to be offered at the time of commencing a great undertaking like the construction of a temple, tank, etc; or it may be that the figure of the man represents one who dauntlessly risked or offered his life for a public cause, and that for this he is honoured in the same way as heroes that fell fighting to the last for the sake of their country, or ladies that committed *sahagamana*. It is not possible to think that *karuvāṅgal-parihāras* are representations of offenders who had been impaled for some delinquency, as is sometimes thought to be; for in such cases, it is quite unlikely that posterity would honour them as they now do."

But the following instances extracted from the ¹Temple Chronicles of Trivandrum give us some idea as to the significance of these human effigies set up in front of temples :

1. In Kollam 675 (= A.D. 1500) for having caused the death of some men, Śrīvīra Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi gave to the temple one silver pot and set up one *kalpariyāram* ;

2. In Kollam 673 (= A.D. 1498) for having assaulted and killed twelve men near the northern *gopura* of the temple Ravi-Ravivarman, the senior member of Tiruppāppur dynasty, (i.e., the ruling king of Travancore), was forced to give to the temple as a penalty twelve silver pots, and to set up four *kalpariyāram* ;

3. In Kollam 592 (= A.D. 1417) Ravi-Ravivarman gave to the temple of Śrī Padmanābhaperumāl, two *kalpariyāram* for having forcibly entered the Karuva-illam, and misappropriated some property. (During

¹ In manuscript in Malayalam characters.

the scuffle it is likely that some casualties had occurred, in expiation of which the erection of the effigies appears to have been necessitated);

It is now apparent that the erection of these *parihāras* formed part of the expiatory ceremonies connected with the accidental or even intentional homicide in which royal personages were implicated, and that the human originals of these stone effigies had neither distinguished themselves by any acts of exceptional self-sacrifice for the public good, nor had they been guilty of any heinous crimes that had necessitated the barbarous, though not uncommon, retribution by impalement.

We are, however, at a loss to ascertain whom exactly the effigies represent—the culprit or the victim—whether the former is portrayed as a penitent expiating his sin lying face upwards, or, as is more probable, whether the effigy of the victim who was cut off ere his natural end was put up in the posture of death in front of temples, not only with a view to secure *post mortem* spiritual welfare for his departed soul, but also to act as a perpetual reminder to the aggressor of his heinous crime. As in the case of the institution of burning lamps in the temples on behalf of the murdered man, it is possible that in these instances also the party at fault was required to provide for the conduct of some worship in the temple for the merit of the deceased and this may possibly explain the ceremonies, which are said to be conducted before these images on the eve of the temple's festivals. Suitably to this interpretation, we find that the effigy in front of Tirukkaditānam temple (see illustration) carries a conch in its left hand; and as this particular object is the professional property of a *mārān*—‘the conch-blower,’ who has to blow on it during the *śrībali* processional rounds of the temple's daily routine of worship, the image may be taken to represent the expiatory effigy which an aggressor, royal or otherwise, was forced to erect in front of the temple in memory of the temple servant, whom he had killed either by accident or by design.

It thus appears evident that the village assemblies and

other local bodies, which wielded judicial powers within their own jurisdictions, did not award punishments commensurate with the degree and circumstances of the crimes which they adjudicated, that they extended a stereotyped show of clemency even to cases which called for more severe punishments, that for some unaccountable reasons they left out of account, in many cases, the practical necessity of compensating the injured parties or their survivors for damages sustained, and that they only provided for the spiritual welfare of the soul of the murdered individuals by demanding that the culprits shall burn lamps and set up effigies for the benefit of their victims. Although this humane legislation compares very favourably with the barbaric severity of the penal laws of the so-called 'enlightened' nations of the West, which till so late as the last century "punished such trivial offences as the breaking of a window and stealing of two pence worth of paint, with death,"¹ one vaguely wonders whether behind the large-hearted humanity that abhorred the spilling of human blood and that recognised the wasteful folly of 'a life for a life' vendetta, and that had, with rare practicality, commuted punishments into remunerative fines, a strain of easy-going weakness on the part of the village tribunals is not detectable. But it is nevertheless a historical fact that capital punishment, which was much in vogue during the reigns of the Mauryas including that of the humane Aśoka himself gradually fell into desuetude during the time of the Gupta Vikramādityas and the Vardhana king of Kanouj, as testified to by the Chinese pilgrims Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsang who visited India in the fifth and seventh centuries A.D., and that fines, large and small, were levied on the guilty in proportion to the circumstances, gravity and punishability of the offences themselves.

A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR

¹ The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus (B. N. Sarkar, 1922), pp. 79-80.

THE MORAL VALUE OF RELIGION

The question of a standard for the determination of values is always a puzzling one. It would be bold to assume that we always apply the same standard for all values. When we speak of values,—whether of a thing or a person, or an action or an experience,—it is not necessarily the same standard by reference to which the value is estimated. Even without confusing *price* or money value with value in general, it must be admitted that a gold ring is not valuable according to the same standard as a table, or a work of art or an act of charity. It may be assumed, therefore, that in ordinary thinking, different standards are used for the estimation of values.

Yet ultimately all ideas of value converge on one central idea, *viz.*, usefulness for life. The word 'utility' has a familiar ring about it, and an unsavoury taste for some palates, and ought, therefore, to be avoided. But after all, no one would really consider a thing valuable unless it were useful for life. Life need not be understood in its narrow sense, as a mere animal function. In its wider significance, it stands for all that man is and wants to be. Mere physical life is not more of it than intellectual and spiritual life. The life of the pig is not more of life than that of Socrates.

Life being understood in its fullness, it would be hard to deny that nothing is of value which hinders or hampers life. On the other hand, a thing is valuable *only* if it conduces to life. Well-being has or can have no other meaning but life with its expansiveness; not necessarily life as it is, but life as it is *plus* life as it tends to be; and things have value only so far as they conduce to this well-being. Food has its value, because it sustains the animal life, which is the basis from which progress towards a higher and a

fuller—a more expansive life, may be attempted. And the philosophy of Plato is valuable because it conduces towards the realisation of that higher life.

If this general principle is accepted, it will follow that, in spite of apparent difference in the standards employed for valuation, ultimately there is but one standard and it is the moral standard. Morality and life are not two incommensurable quantities. Morality is not a square thing put into the circle of life, so that the two may never coalesce. On the other hand, properly understood, the two are at bottom the same. Morality is the rule of life—the rule according to which, life should be lived. It is not there to thwart or to dwarf life, but to help it, to enable it to be what it tends to be. If life seeks to adjust itself and to attain results, morality does so no less. If life is a continuous endeavour, morality is equally so. It is only a distorted vision—a short-sightedness, which sees a conflict between the two. The conflict, if there be any, is not between morality and life, but between life viewed as a whole and life in its fragments—between life that is to be and life that is—between the ideal life and the actual life of the moment.

To say, therefore, that all value is value for life, is to say that all value is moral value. It may strike one as an extravagant paradox, but is nevertheless true. Between the moral and the immoral, there is probably a class of neutral things which are simply non-moral; to them the judgment of value does not apply. They simply *are*; but are neither good nor bad. But this sort of division does not apply to values. There are no neutral values. To say that a thing is neither good nor bad, is only to mean that it has conceivably no direct connection with life; and this in its turn, is equivalent to saying that it has *no value*. But to say that a thing *has* value but has no *moral* value—and is, therefore, neither good nor bad,—is to suggest that a thing may be both valuable and valueless at the same time. But this

is impossible. There are, therefore, two alternatives: If the question is raised as to the value of a thing, the only possible meaning is, whether it helps life or hinders it; in the former case, it is good, in the latter, bad. If it has no direct relation with life, it simply has no value. But if it has value, *i.e.*, is either good or bad, then it has value for life, and its value is moral value. All value, therefore, is moral value.

We do not usually enquire about the value of moonshine: because, ordinarily at least, it does not bear on life. But if we ask the value of physical exercise, the only standard that may be employed for estimating this value, is its usefulness for life: and this is the moral standard. The moral standard, therefore, is the only standard for all valuation.

So far as man's life is concerned, it has long been recognised that even the smallest function in it,—even the twinkling of the eye—has a moral value. Even the operation of the digestive organs need not be excluded from the purview of moral criticism. Not that the organs themselves are to be praised or blamed; but so far as man's will is responsible for their good working, there is a morality attaching to it. A bad digestion implies a perverted will in the past and the possibility in the future of a bad man. So far, therefore, as man's own volitions are concerned, it is not disputed that all of them, without exception, are amenable to moral criticism. All that is contended here, however, is that, if moral criticism is properly understood, it will be found to subsume all judgments of value.

Is aesthetic judgment the same, then, as moral judgment? Our contention is that so far as it is a judgment of value, it implies that the beautiful is either good or bad; and the judgment, therefore, is a moral judgment. But there is another element in the aesthetic judgment: it also involves a recognition of the relation between the beautiful and the corresponding feeling in the mind. So far, however, as this

second element is concerned, the judgment has only an existential import, as when we say, 'the tree is green' or 'the weather is inclement' or 'the tiger is ferocious.' It is perhaps this peculiar combination of elements that distinguishes an aesthetic judgment from a moral judgment as well as from a mere existential judgment.

But even if this analysis of the aesthetic judgment be not admitted, an enquiry about the moral value,—which is the value for life,—of an aesthetic experience, is yet permissible. We may yet ask, how does this or that aesthetic experience affect life, whether, that is to say, it is good or bad.

All that we are contending for here, is that, even Art is subject to moral criticism. All Art is not equally good. If there is a good art as well as bad, surely that can have but one meaning, viz., art like other phenomena of life is and ought to be valued according to the moral standard. The Greek conception of *Kalokagathia* (Καλοκαγαθία) implies an ultimate unity of the beautiful (Το καλόν) and the good (Το αγαθόν). And this joint valuation implies a common standard. Is not this standard, after all, the usefulness for life?

From all this, it follows that, value for life is, in the last analysis, the only meaning of value. Assuming this, then, as our standard, may we not apply it to religious experiences and practices? May we not ask whether religion as a whole, or any of its component elements, is morally sound or not? In other words, may we not ask the simple question: what is the value of Religion?

Religion is so sacred and so ancient a thing, that any question about its validity should be twice thought over. We must not, therefore, misread the question. To raise the question of value is to seek its justification. Is it then the case that the moral justification is the only justification of religion? Has Religion no other sufficient reason to exist? Is morality so superior to Religion, that we may not ask the counter-question as to the religious justification of morality?

Why should Religion be judged according to the moral standard, and not morality according to the standard of religion?

Psychologically, probably the elements of religious consciousness appear earlier in the mind than those of moral consciousness. Historically, too, religion seems earlier than morality. But in spite of all this, in the struggle for existence among religions, and struggle for supremacy, too, it was the moral superiority of one religion as against others, that eventually triumphed. And if within the domain of any religion, reforms have ever been introduced, these cannot mean anything else but the suppression of immoral practices and the introduction of healthier customs.

And if there are cases of conversion—cases, where men give up an old religion and adopt another in its place, then, these two imply that the preference is due to moral grounds. If Martin Luther protested against the church of Rome, it was because his moral sense was shocked by the corrupt practices of the Papacy. And if England voted in favour of Protestantism, it was due to the perception of a moral superiority in it. Judea, which has been the cradle of the profoundest religious experiences of mankind, illustrates this truth no less, that, in a case of religious preference or of the triumph of one religion over another, it is the superiority in moral fervour that counts. The triumph of Christianity in Judea, and in Athens, and in Rome and throughout the world, illustrate but this one fact. Christianity proclaimed that the kingdom of Heaven—(ἡ βασιλεία τῶν Οὐρανῶν)—is not outside but within. Christ said that he had come not to break the law but to fulfil it (Οὐκ ἦλθον καταλυσαι ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι) and he gave a new law—not the law of eye for eye and tooth for tooth,—but the law of Love. Then ensued a struggle between the old and the new—and the old bottle,—to borrow a metaphor from Christ himself—could not contain the new wine. It burst,

But what does it all prove? Only this that whenever mankind has to choose between religion and religion, it is the moral difference that matters. Here it must be noted that there are many cases which look like exceptions to this rule. This is sometimes so, because the actual adoption of a religion in place of another often requires the severance of many ties which few people have the courage or the inclination to break. So, even if a man is prevented by circumstances from openly embracing a religion which he prefers on moral grounds, it does not prove that there is no real preference.

Our rule therefore remains, namely, even religion as an object of experience is valued according to the moral standard. But we are not blind to the counter-question: why not value morality according to religion? Why not base morality on the sanctions of religion? It is not the case that no body has ever based morality on religion. On the other hand, moral rules have long been regarded as derivatives of religious laws. Some have even regarded morality as contingent upon the absolutely free will of God. Morality, in other words, has been viewed as the expression of the divine will: the good was what God willed, and the bad was what He did not will. If God willed otherwise, morality would undergo a change.

Such a position in Philosophy has been held. But it was mediæval mind which stuck to this view; the modern mind has travelled beyond it. Morality is not now regarded as a rule of religion but a rule of life. The possibility is not denied that morality may find its fitting complement in religion; it may even be admitted that morality without religion can have but a weak hold on the mind of man: what is not admitted, however, is the contingent character of morality. Morality cannot be regarded as only an off-shoot of the religious life.

The significance of this position will be made clearer if we consider two extreme cases, *viz.*, atheism and utter immorality. A Godless morality is a possible attitude in life, just as

extreme immorality is. Now, we all know what to think of an immoral man, who, nevertheless, follows certain religious practices. It will not do to say that, that is not religion properly so called; for, obviously, such a man may have the very same emotions as religion ordinarily implies. Still, what will be our feelings about such a man? On the other hand, take the extreme rationalists in Philosophy—we do not mean Hegel and his school;—but take Bentham or Mill or Spencer; there is certainly a school of critics who brand them as irreligious. But are we really horrified at such an irreligion? Possibly, we have a sense of incompleteness about their philosophy; but surely their morality is not on that account an absolutely impossible doctrine. It does not excite horror or disgust, as the grossly sensual practices of a savage religion cannot fail to do. We may, therefore, conclude that religion without morality cannot stand, but morality without religion is in a far less precarious condition. Without denying the high prestige of religion, one may yet be permitted to claim on behalf of morality that it has the right to adjudge the value of religion.

But we have yet another difficulty to meet. Morality is mainly, though not exclusively, an affair of this life: religion refers to the life beyond. The existence of a life beyond, is itself one of the most vexed questions of philosophy. There may be such a life or there may not. But it is not true to say that morality has nothing to do with the life hereafter or that religion ought not to bear upon the life here. Both may refer to the future life and both may be affected by such convictions. But there is one important point in which modern thought perhaps differs from its mediæval counterpart. This life is no longer conceived as sharply and diametrically opposed to the life hereafter. We are not probably inclined to think that it is a mere sin to be born and to have to live in God's world. And we are not inclined to believe that any code of laws which regulates our life on this planet, is, on that account, not of much value and, that, one who keeps his gaze fixed on

the eternal verities beyond, is, on that account, necessarily a superior man. If there is a life beyond, it must be in continuation of this and not sharply severed from it : and if there is any prognosis of that life, it ought to come in this : and this life ought to provide scope for preparation for the next. And anything that unfits a man here, cannot be regarded as of extra value in the life beyond. In fact, anything that unfits a man for this life but fits him for another yet to come, is a chimera. We are not suggesting that this life is all : but we are not prepared, for that reason, either to say that, in the eternal existence of man, this life is only an undesirable stain, and that it should be wiped out in thought. We cannot say, therefore, that value for this life is no value at all.

Religion, therefore, need not be more otherworldly than morality. Even if it be so, so far as it bears upon this life, it is amenable to moral criticism. After all, this world is nearer and this life, is more intimate to us, than one beyond it. And so, the criterion of value cannot be borrowed from beyond ; morality which regulates this life, cannot be valued according to the standard of fitness hereafter. If the hereafter is a continuation of this life, morality is the rule of judgment for both ; and, if the future life implies a complete breach with this, then even, the claims of morality remain paramount ; for, after all, we have to judge the less known by the more known,—the future by the present. Religion, therefore, cannot give law to morality : rather the value of religion is its moral value.

What then is the moral value of Religion ? Religion has two aspects : on the one hand, it is a personal experience ; on the other, it is an institution. In judging of its value, these differences should be kept in view. There is another factor, *viz.*, its origin and affinities.

Now, as to the origin and affinities of the religious temperament, we can at most make a passing reference to

the neurological theories of Wm. James and Adolescence theories of Stanley Hall and others. For, as James himself has pointed out, the origin does not determine the value. But the affinities of religion require a slightly fuller attention. If it be a fact that religion cannot come except in company with moral and physical degeneration, then, the question of choice is a very perplexing one. But before dealing with that, we should attend to the other difference, *vis.*, religion as a personal experience and religion as an institution. Both of these, however, admit of varieties. There are varieties of religious experience of the individual and there are varieties also of religious institutions.

The institution of religion has formed important groups in the human race: groups which are not perhaps otherwise different from one another. The Christian world, for instance, does not differ very materially from the Moslem or Pagan world, except for what Christianity and the Christian Church may mean. The institution of religion not only means a system of beliefs but also a group of customs and practices, ~~which together~~ make up a highly complex whole.

This sharply demarcates one group of men from another. In the evolution of the human race, the institution of religion has been of very great use. Even Rousseau admitted that religion was of service to civil administration and contributed largely to the maintenance of law and order in society. And the day is not yet come, when the hopes of reward and the fears of punishment by religion, will cease to exercise any influence on man's mind. The majority of mankind are still prevented from perpetrating a wrong by religion and religion is still the incentive for many a noble action. So, we cannot say that the institution of religion has no value. But at the same time, one has to admit that it has multiplied differences. Tennyson's dream of *Locksley Hall* will never materialise, so long as religious differences continue to be as sharp as ever. The human race will never feel its unity, so

long as men continue to group themselves according to religious beliefs and practices.

So far, however, as the rule of life is concerned, men are not—or, at any rate, need not be—different from one another. Reason is the same for all; and morality as reason's dictates for life's conduct, does not and should not vary with latitude and longitude or with ethnic groups. Divested of religious associations, Christian goodness is not essentially different from Moslem or Pagan goodness. Divested of the relations with the peculiar conditions of Greek life and of life at that period of history, Plato's ideal of goodness does not materially differ from the loftiest Christian conception. The differences that are there, are more apparent than real; and in so far as there is an appeal to reason, all such differences may be ultimately smoothed down.

Without being blind to the immense good that religion has done to human society, one may yet recall the painful incidents of history where human quarrels and sufferings may exclusively be attributed to religion. When one recollects the Inquisitions and *autos-da-fe* and hosts of similar other incidents, one may well lament with the poet—'what man has made of man!' Why is Ireland still but a half-solved problem in Europe? Why is the Turk such a perplexing difficulty in European diplomacy? Why are the Jews in many countries of the world, still a half-alien race? Are there any real, vital moral differences between these and other peoples of the Earth? Is not religion the only real obstacle in the way of human unity? If that be so, is not it time that religion should be more thoroughly reviewed by morality, and, if necessary, modified accordingly? And is not morality a surer and a more solid basis for human unity than religion?

The question now stares us in the face, are we then to give up religion? He would be bold, indeed, who could give a hasty answer to this. But possibly the time has come when institutional religion—religion as the basis of an organisation

of a particular kind, should not be allowed to rule over man's social relations. What is urged is not the immediate demolition of all churches, but a fuller recognition of the superior claims of man's moral relations.

In mediæval times, religion constituted practically the only stable bond of unity. In the modern pan-Islamic movement, too, religion is accepted as the one all-important basis for unity. All other relations—social, geographical, economical and moral—are quietly brushed aside. But is this right? Will it work? On the other hand, suppose man forgets his religion and lives only by the consciousness that he is a man and a moral being and has moral relations with other men; and that, instead of living in a world of religion, he lives in what Kant called a 'kingdom of Ends';—then, would there be more strife, more war and more bloodshed,—or less? Would society topple down like a house of cards? Methinks, it won't.

On the contrary, are not there—especially in some of the ancient Eastern religions—evil practices, that ought to be obliterated? Such there were in the religion of Egypt, of Babylon, of Greece and Rome even, and also in Hinduism and Buddhism. Some of these have disappeared and some perhaps have not yet. When they disappeared, it was moral criticism which forced the exit; and if the time is ripe for others to go, the search-light of morality should be permitted to play on them again.

Religion as a personal experience, however, stands on a slightly different footing. Institutional religion is capable of doing more good as well as more harm to society, than the mere private experiences of individuals. Yet the private religious experience is not altogether negligible. On the life of the individual, at least, it has a profound influence. And it, too, has its dangers and pit-falls. Like other emotions, even the religious sentiment, if allowed to run amock, may do great mischief. Unrestrained emotions are always danger-

ous; and religious emotion is no exception to this rule. Besides, if the theory of the sexual origin of religion or the adolescence theory be even partially true, there is a special danger in religion. It may easily be an apo-theosis of the baser elements of man's self, without appearing to be so.

To cite examples in a case like this, would be to offend some religious sect or other. But the fact that in some cases, narcotics and intoxicants are used to bring about a peculiar mystic or hypnotic experience and that erotic impulses are sometimes deified in some ancient religions of the world, is an argument to the point.

Then, again, there are the suggested affinities of the religious consciousness. The religiously minded people are neurotics—it has been said. A religious genius is a physical and moral wreck. A Spanish baron, by excessive fasting and by wrecking the whole nervous system, becomes a Loyola. If all this be true, the religious consciousness has got to be carefully scrutinized under the lime-light of morality.

The value of religious experience is not denied. It is a great solatium to suffering humanity. It has an ennobling and an uplifting influence on life. The frail bark of human existence would be without helm and rudder but for the guidance of religion. Religion has been the beacon-light to many a forlorn traveller in the path of life. But shorn of its alliance with morality, religion may easily drift away to hidden cliffs and rocks, and smash itself up.

It ought not to be forgotten that there is no inherent antagonism between morality and religion. Each is a fitting and a necessary complement to the other. Morality without the fervour and enthusiasm of religion is dry, and perhaps dull and uninteresting, and is lacking in intense passions. And for that reason, its hold on the human mind may be weak and unsteady. The faith in the unseen, with which it is not incompatible, will always enliven morality. But morality without that faith, is far less dangerous than religion without

morality. In history, we have had examples of ethical systems without a faith in the reality of the Invisible world of religion. Buddhism has often been described as an atheistical system. As such, it had of course, its defects. But these were much less dangerous to society than the many immoral practices that crept in later Buddhism, in Tantrikism, etc., in India, and in Isis-worship, Bacchus-worship and similar other worships in the west ;—and, this, in spite of the fact that these so-called worships excited deep emotions and were infused with occult beliefs.

A life without religion certainly lacks much of its depth, fervour and enthusiasm ; without religion, life is perhaps a dreary wilderness, crossed by bleak winds, enough to benumb all the springs of noble activity. But still, even this religion, if dissociated from morality and deprived of its lead and guidance, may prove a veritable Serbonian Bog in which the whole army of man's nobler impulses may find their watery grave.

UMESHCHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

SIKKIM

Sikkim, with Nepal and Bhutan, is one of the independent states forming the northern boundary of India, and separating the peninsular of India from the vast treeless and wind-swept plains of Tibet; in fact, it is the middle of the three states forming the northern barrier.

Sikkim at one time included the district of Darjeeling and had for its southern boundary the Mahanadi or "Great River." This river demarcated the boundary of the districts Rangpore, Dinajpore and Purnea, which were East India Company possessions, from the Tarai or swampy-lands lying at the foot of the Sikkim state.

As may be inferred, Sikkim is a mountainous country and perhaps, the best known of the three independent states. Its proximity to Darjeeling, from which it is divided by the Great Rangeet river, makes it more accessible than the states of Nepal and Bhutan.

A tour in this beautiful mountain country is not difficult to arrange, as passes for a fifteen days tour may be had on payment of eight annas per head from the Court of the Deputy Commissioner; but should a more extensive tour be intended for the full limit of time allowed of six weeks, the permission of the Political Officer at Gantok, the capital of Sikkim, has to be obtained,—a permission that is not easily granted without a good deal of preliminary enquiries.

In obtaining passes, the would-be tourist has to sign an affidavit, he or she will not cross the frontier into Nepal, Tibet or Bhutan,—a very necessary precaution as only recently, a doctor who shall be nameless, managed to evade the vigilance of the frontier police and made his way into Lha-sa.

There have been many books written on Sikkim, but each one disappointing, for the information they contain is very meagre; and the one man, who resided in the country for thirty years, and established the present form of government in the country, excuses himself for the very indifferent account he has written, on the plea that he is not a journalist. But, in spite of the very palpable excuse rendered thin by political exigencies, the account although disappointing, is interesting, and the superb photographs that interleaf the book, go a long way to make up for the meagreness of the account. I refer to "*Sikkim and Bhutan?*" by J. Claud White, C. I. E.

The history of Sikkim is a recent one, dating back to the early 19th century, a period when it first became known to the East India Company.

The people of Sikkim, who call themselves *Rongs* or "Settlers," are not the inhabitants of the country, but from their manners and customs, which closely resemble those of the tribes on the northern borders of Assam, are said to be the remnants of a great trek of these tribes westwards. Who the actual inhabitants of Sikkim were before this great trek, is difficult to ascertain, as there are no records or history of the country prior to this trek of the Assam tribes. There can, however, be little doubt, that Sikkim at one time was peopled by the *Bhutias*, who are inhabitants of Bhot or Tibet; who must not be confounded with the *Bhutias*, the inhabitants of the neighbouring state of Bhutan.

It is possible, that when the peace-loving Newar dynasty was dethroned by the warlike Gurkhas, who came from Rajputana, that the Bhotias, deserting their land, fled across the snowy barrier into Tibet, leaving Sikkim open to the Gurkha invaders, who assumed power in Nepal about the middle of the 18th century, and who on gaining a walk-over victory, with little result and no hope of an indemnity, recrossed the western border of Sikkim into their own and recently conquer-

ed country of Nepaul, leaving Sikkim as it were, a no-man's land and it easily accomodated the tribes of Assam when they reached it on their great trek.

The people of Sikkim, though calling themselves *Rongs* are known to the world by the more familiar name of *Lepchas*, meaning "the people of vile speech," a contemptuous appellation given them by the Nepaulese.

These intruders, finding a land veritably flowing with milk and honey, were left in unmolested peace and found themselves possessors of a large tract of hilly country, which included the present independent state of Sikkim and the Darjeeling district; they were not, however, left long to enjoy the fruits of their usurpation. About 250 years ago, the Tibetans invaded their country and drove them into the lower valleys and gorges bordering the Rangeet river; and, in 1706, the tract east of the Tista river, which formed a part of their kingdom was wrested from them by the Bhutias of Bhutan.

An excerpt from the local Gazetteer says of the *Lepchas*: "For generations past a conquered race, they are a timid people, peaceful and no brawlers, disliking fixed employment and never so happy as when they are in their native woods."

This may be true of the *Lepchas* of half a century ago, but it was just about this time that very potent changes, due to their indolent habits, were necessitated. Besides disliking fixed employment, the *Lepchas* were nomadic cultivators, selecting a patch in their beautiful forests, they cleared it, sowed two crops sufficient for their sustenance, and then moved off to a fresh selection the following year. This wasteful method was known as *jhumming* and as may be imagined, did not help to swell the revenues of the country and compelled the introduction of a more settled tenure, which threw them on other resources for a livelihood and much of their jungle-craft was lost by this sudden change; for the *Lepchas* are born naturalists and even to-day, have names for every bird, insect, plant and orchid to be found in Sikkim.

With the introduction of a more settled method of cultivation on the appointment of a Political Officer to the capital, Gantok, the Government found, that since nomadic cultivation had been put an end to, the greater part of the arable land was left fallow; depleting the treasury of the little revenue accruing to it and the state had to depend on moneys from other taxable sources. It became an urgent necessity, therefore, to get the lands again productive, and, since the Lepchas practically refused to settle down to the new system, outside help had to be called in. The Government of India was consulted and it was finally decided to ask the help of the neighbouring State of Nepal. The Nepal Durbar agreed, and several thousand *Limbus*, one of the most numerous castes of Nepal who engage in agriculture, were permitted to cross the border and acquire land in Sikkim under the new system and settlement.

These *Limbus* have settled in Sikkim, intermarried with the Lepchas and together with the Sikkim Bhotias, who have settled in the land from Tibet, have helped the Lepchas in contributing to their gradual self-effacement. Many Lepchas have left Sikkim and settled in Bhutan, where the extensive forest lands and a lax regime allow of them reverting to their former wasteful methods of nomadic cultivation.

As already stated, Sikkim first came to the notice of the East India Company in the early part of the 19th century. It was then the dominion of the Sikkim Raja, who had been engaged in an unsuccessful struggle against the growing power of the warlike Gurkhas, who practically conquered the whole country after repeated incursions and then turned their attention to the swampy plains lying at the foot of the hills. After repeated remonstrances, the East India Company was compelled to declare war in 1814 at the close of which the tract wrested from the Sikkim Raja was ceded to the Company. The Raja who had been

driven out of his dominion was reinstated and in 1817 a treaty was concluded at Titalya, under which, the whole Terai, 4000 square miles in extent was restored to him and his sovereignty guaranteed by the Company. The British intervention thus preventing the Nepaulese from turning the whole of Sikkim into an outlying province of Nepal, and Sikkim, including the present Darjeeling district, was retained as a buffer state between Nepal and Bhutan.

The restoration of Sikkim to its original owners, gave the British, by the Treaty of Titalya, the paramount power in the land and bound the Raja to refer all disputes between his subjects and those of Nepal and other neighbouring states to the arbitration of the British Government.

Ten years later a dispute arose and according to the terms of the treaty was referred to the Governor-General. Accordingly in 1828, Capt. Lloyd was deputed to effect a settlement. In company with Mr J. W. Grant, Commercial Resident at Maldah, he penetrated the hills, which were then *terra incognita* to the British as far as Rinchinpong, a village in S. W. Sikkim and during this journey was attracted by the situation of Darjeeling. It was the success of this mission and the diplomacy of Capt. Lloyd that gained for the British the present Darjeeling District.

The advent of the Limbus and Bhotias, although continuing to the self-effacement of the Lepchas has been the salvation of the country; for not only have they settled down to peaceful cultivation on advanced methods, terracing their holdings and thus securing a varied supply of produce according to the altitude of their holdings, but have introduced into Sikkim the crafts prevailing in Nepal and Tibet, thus adding in no small measure to the revenues of the country.

The Lepchas are said to be a dying race but the census figures do not bear this out.

Coming from the East, the Lepchas, like the Abors and Miris were wrapped in strange superstitions, and on their

arrival in Sikkim peopled the forests, streams and glens with most malignant spirits to whom they still offer propitiatory offerings and invocations to ward off harm. They do not believe in propitiating a good spirit, for the reason that he cannot do them any harm. This old *Bhun* worship is now intermingled with Lamaism and forms one of the most complicated religions in the world.

The houses of the Lepchas are built on piles four or five feet above the ground, each house containing a single room in which every member of the family sleep. The houses were built at one time of the giant bamboo and were thatched with bamboo shingles. The giant bamboo, having a diametre of from a foot to eighteen inches, answered the Lepchas for all their needs. The household utensils were made from them, the spinning wheels, the weaving looms and even the receptacles for holding water : butter, milk and rice bins were fashioned out of this useful plant. So skilled have the Lepchas become in the uses to which the bamboo can be put, that those who still dwell in the forests utilise the bamboo for cooking utensils. Taking a young bamboo joint with knots at both ends, they pierce a small hole at one end through which rice can be poured in until the cylinder is threequarters full ; into this a sufficient quantity of water is added and the hole stopped. The bamboo joint is then placed on the fire and allowed to cook the contents. When ready, the joint is cut in two and the rice served out. Rice cooked in this way is said to retain the flavour of the young bamboo and is considered a great delicacy. The young shoots of the bamboo boiled form a vegetable much appreciated as an adjunct to the bamboo-boiled rice.

Their arts and crafts are confined to what has been taught them by the Nepaulees and Blfutias settled in their country, but their clothes stand out as the best woven material in the Himalayas. Made of home spun and home grown

cotton, they are lasting and make a picturesque dress for the people. Men and women dress alike, but the men wear a shorter skirt and at one time carried the straight knife in a bamboo sheath suspended from their waistbands called a ban. The waistband holds their dress at the waist and allows of the ends to be pinned over their shoulders. Their headgear was a round felt hat with turned up rims, which has now been, in many cases, replaced by the Hamburg hat of western manufacture.

The country is one of the most beautiful in the world, rising by a series of mountain-ranges from 500 feet to 28,146 feet, which is the altitude of the giant mountain of the land, Kinchinjunga; thus a variety of climate ranging from tropical to arctic is to be met with. The mountain chains are intersected by rivers which have their sources at the foot of the glaciers of the great snowy range which divides the country from Tibet, and where perpetual winter reigns. The country has some beautiful waterfalls, which during the monsoon present an incomparable sight. Being heavily timbered, the country is rich in flora and fauna, while its mineral resources, although worked in a primitive manner is of considerable value, and would be more so, were European enterprise permitted to settle in the country and established up-to-date methods. Sikkim, however, is a closed land to Europeans.

The staple crop of Sikkim, like Nepaul and Bhutan, is Indian corn, but many hundred acres of land on the lower levels have been terraced, and thus, by a simple means of regulating the water supply, a good manual harvest of rice is reaped. Millet, too, forms one of the crops of Sikkim and from it an excellent beer is brewed. On the higher levels, oranges and other fruit flourish, but at the time when the fruit is ripening, the warmth of the sun is withheld by the heavy monsoon clouds and the fruit goes to waste. Still, however, a plentiful supply of oranges grown at lower

altitudes can be had and in quality are hard to beat. Another produce of the country is an excellent honey with a flavour of both the magnolia and orange flower and from it an excellent liquor is brewed.

Sikkim like the neighbouring states has been affected by time and progress, losing much of its picturesqueness by the method of modern engineering introduced into the country. Corrugated iron has replaced the shingle roofs of the houses and the cane suspension bridges, which once formed a feature of the country are now replaced by iron bridges.

Schools have been opened and a more established form of government introduced. Indians of all sects and creeds are allowed access to the country and are to be found in all lucrative centres. Among them is the ubiquitous Marwari, who has settled down to amass wealth by usury and trade, but in spite of this, and according to the laws of Sikkim, is prohibited from acquiring land, except the few acres or poles their houses are built on and for which they pay rent.

The laws of Sikkim are strange laws and too numerous to enumerate, but two may be mentioned which are in use to prove whether the culprits are telling the truth or otherwise. These are Ordeal by Hot Stones and Oil, which are reminiscent of mediaeval times. The country under the present Political Officer, Major Bayley and his predecessors has been brought under perfect control. Its revenues have increased twentyfold and although many of the resources are still latent for reasons already given, the people have made great strides in western progress, and many have given up their former habits for western ones. To find the true, uncontaminated Lepcha, it is necessary to seek him in his jungle home amidst his natural surroundings.

There is a great future before the country under its present enlightened ruler, who would encourage European

immigration into the land but for the "Closed Door" policy still rigidly adhered to by the Indian Government, for he is wide awake to the fact that it is only the advent of expert European enterprise that will benefit his country and his people.

CLAUDE A. RENNY

SPRING IN THE DESERT

Is there no quickening in the desert,
When Spring comes singing once again ?
No eager throbbing answer
To the voice of beneficent rain ?

Somewhere, far down beneath the sand,
The life must stir to memories
Of other days, long gone, when Spring bloomed
On the desert's face with flow'rs and trees.

The narrow strips of green along the Nile
Show greener in a gentler mood of Sun ;
The ibis seeks his mate at nesting time,
And blossoms of the waste say Springs begun.

Perhaps, somewhere within that tawny sea of sand,
The hidden oases respond to Spring,
And feel the grace of renaissance
That Nature gives to every living thing.

LILY S. ANDERSON

ESPIONAGE IN THE HINDU SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

The Emperor Aurangzeb wrote in his last will and testament that "the greatest pillar of a government is the keeping of information about everything that happens in the kingdom,—while even a minute's negligence results in shame for long years. See, the flight of the wretch Shivā was due to carelessness, but it has involved me in all these distracting campaigns to the end of my days."¹ But how was this information to be collected? The modern governments and the public are served by well organised news services. We cannot now conceive a situation in India when the Indian government will not be served by the press, post, telegraph and telephone even for a single day. We have grown so much accustomed to these paraphernalia of modern civilization that we do not appreciate the great difficulties which every ancient state must have felt simply in collecting news.² Hence the need of an organised department of news-writers. These agents of the government had often to act clandestinely. The very nature of their duties compelled them to hide their true personalities. For there are obvious disadvantages for an accredited government servant who wants to collect news. People dare not frankly discuss their views before him. This brings us to another important feature of espionage in these days. Newspapers in present times are a great help to the administration of a state. They supply the government with a frank criticism of the views and measures of the administrators and always present the other side of the shield. This may be often distasteful, but it is openly admitted that the Press now-a-days saves the government from many pitfalls and blunders. This open and frank criticism is therefore an

¹ Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, p. 94.

² R. Shama Sastri, *Evolution of Indian Polity*, Lecture VIII.

indirect benefit to the rulers. But how could the government secure these criticisms in ancient times? People generally are averse to making such criticism before government servants. The *Sukraniti* has therefore urged the king to appoint spies and through them 'know his own faults from the standpoint of the subjects and get rid of them.'¹ The well-known story of the exile of Sītā is another illustration.² The Espionage Department therefore was in some measure regarded as an 'instrument for bringing public opinion to bear on the king's public activities.' Over and above these functions there were the ordinary duties of detection of crime and hunting down of criminals. In modern times the work of the Intelligence Department is much furthered by the facilities of travel and communication. Even the wireless telegraphy and wireless photography are now being used by the Detective departments of the modern states. The difficulties of the spies in this direction in ancient India at least were much increased by the many hundreds of miles of trackless forests that must have extended from one corner of India to another. But in spite of all these hardships crime was very rare in many periods of India's ancient history. There is a remarkable unanimity amongst the foreigners who visited India on this point, and it seems to me that this remarkable result was attained in no small degree by the efficiency of the Intelligence Departments of those days.

We have already remarked that the greatest pillar of an administration is the keeping of information. The ancient Indian political thinkers recognised that the rulers must be informed of whatever is happening not only within the states but also without. They must always keep themselves informed about the important developments in foreign states and in times of peace or war secretly endeavour to obtain information concerning the forces, armaments, fortifications

¹ I, 133.² *Ibid*, 135-36; *Uttaravāmacharita*.

or defences' of all neighbouring states. Kāmandaki observes that 'the king who does not know the movements of the kings of his own *mandala* or of those of his enemy's *mandala*, is asleep, although he is wide awake, and he never wakes up from such sleep of his.'¹ But every state either ancient or modern jealously guards its military and naval secrets and denies admittance to fortified places or arsenals to those who cannot produce the proper credentials. It would have been almost impossible for an open agent of a foreign state to secure such information. Here we have another reason for the institution of espionage.

The ancient Indian political thinkers therefore attached the greatest value to a well organised Espionage Department. Spies were the eyes of the kings—*chārachakshu mahāpati*. They could never conceive kingship without its necessary adjunct the *chāra* or the 'spy.' In the *Sukranīti* the spy is even recognised as one of the ten important departments of state.² But while they were conscious of the great importance of the *chāra*, they were not ignorant of the dangers of a corrupt Espionage Department. Hence great care was taken to appoint thoroughly reliable and honest men. In the Vedas *Varuṇa's* spies are described as wise and holy. In the *Arthasāstra* Kautilya advises the selection of persons with *prajñā* and *śauca* as spies of the *samsthāh* section. Kāmandaki declares that person to be fit to become a spy who is 'skilled in the interpretation of internal sentiments by conjecture and by external gestures, accurate of memory, polite, and soft in speech, agile in movements, capable of bearing up with all sorts of privations and difficulties, ready witted and expert in everything.' The *Sukranīti* says, 'they are to be appointed as secret spies³ who are

¹ I. XII, 38. (Rv. VII, 87, 3)

² Translated by Benoykumar Sarkar, p. 68. Mr. Sarkar follows Gustav Opperts Text. In Jivananda Vidyasagar's Text the word *dūta* occurs in the place of spy; II, 70.

³ XII, 25.

adepts in understanding the activities of enemies, subjects and servants and *who can faithfully reproduce what they hear* (*Yatharthasrutabodhakāḥ*).¹ This insistence on the capacity of reproducing what they hear² or what they see was of great importance. Spies supplying false information were severely punished. A king who did not punish such spies was regarded as a *Mlechchha* and a destroyer of the peoples' persons and properties.'

Asatyavādinam gūdhāchāraṁ naiva cha śāsti 'yaḥ.
Sa nripo mlechchha ityuktah prajāprāṇadhanāpahah.

The king was therefore required to thoroughly test a spy—

Varṇi tapasvi sanyāsi nīchasiddhasvarūpinam.
Pratyakṣheṇa chhaleṇaiva gūdhāchāra viśodhayet.

The author of the *Sukranīti* further adds that if the king accepts the statements³ of a spy without testing him 'he can get no information and has to repent.' The spy also, says he, 'does not fear to speak untruth to a king who does not examine him.'

Besides this primary precaution there was another very important trait of the ancient Indian espionage system which must have served as a good corrective of all false statements. Kautilya divides the spies into two sections, the *Samsthāḥ* and the *Sanchārāḥ* and lays down that the spies of these different groups should not know each other. Further, he seems to have insisted that information received from one single source should never be accepted as true and he remarks in one place that 'when information thus received from these three different sources is exactly of the same version, it shall be held reliable. If they frequently differ the spies concerned

shall either be punished in secret (*tusnidanda*) or dismissed.¹

It will be clear from the above that the very conditions under which ancient Indian states grew and flourished required such an institution as espionage. Information was and still is a primary need in administration and the spy was the only efficient vehicle through which this need could be fairly satisfied. Steps were therefore taken to keep this very important arm of administration free from corruption. But in spite of all the vigilance of the administrators the institution had severe drawbacks. Dr. Shama Sastry has rightly remarked² that 'under its poisonous breath and sting neither private citizens nor public servants could be secure of the safety of their person and property.' It must have also introduced in society a good deal of immorality. Many of the steps taken by the spies in the *Kautiliya* for instance were thoroughly immoral and can only be justified by those who like the German Empire builders justified the means—however nefarious that might be, by the loftiness of their aim. All the weak points in human character were exploited and by the free use of wine, women and poison the Espionage Department sought to consolidate the interest of its employer both within and without his realm. This was rather unfortunate. But then 'the times required such an institution' and there was no help.

There was however probably some difference between theory and practice. The *Arthasāstra* in spite of its practical nature has much in it that is theoretical. For the author himself admits that he made a compendium of all the *Arthasāstras* written by former authors (*Yāsyantyarthasāstrāṇi pūrvācāhāryaikā prasthāpitāni prāyaśastāni saṁhṛtyaikam idamarthasāstram kṛtam*). It is therefore possible that while writing about espionage he has given us a picture

¹ Edited by Shama Sastry, 2nd Ed., p. 21.

² Evolution of Indian Polity, Lecture VIII.

the whole of which was not in evidence in the everyday administration of the states of that period. For the sake of completeness he has probably given us an account of all possible and impossible activities of the spies which were suggested by the various political thinkers and administrators of his age. Vātsyāyana, for example, wrote a work on *Kāmaśāstra*. He has given us accounts of many forms of sexual enjoyment which though known to the *āchāryas* were probably hardly practised by the people in their everyday life. Vātsyāyana himself admits that. It is possible therefore that in actual practice the tactics adopted by the Espionage Department in ancient India were not so dirty as they are represented to be in the *Arthaśāstra*. This conclusion seems to be supported to some extent by the absence of any reference to these immoral activities of the spies in the *Indica* of Megasthenes or the Inscriptions of Aśoka.

(To be continued)

HENCHANDRA RAY

MY PALACE OF DREAMS

Of fancy I fashioned a palace,
Besilvered over with foam ;
Of longings I builded the pillars,
Of visions I made the dome.

In a desert beyond a desert,
From man's way hidden apart,
I wrought and I moulded my palace
To shelter my aching heart.

And thither when slumber and silence,
Divide the day from the day,
And the hours are drenched with dreaming,
By moonfise I often stray.

Ah ! The exquisite pain of living,
The intimate endless smart,
When love from a love is arrested,
Denied, and pinioned apart.

But here in the violet shadows
Is one who has come to say :
" Though thy palace is but a folly
To pass away with the day,

"But nevertheless it is grateful,

"Dear Beloved to my eyes,

"If only a castle of dreaming

"If only a house of lies."

O, lips that are heavy with passion,

O, hair that is fraught with night,

O, eyes that are smouldering shadows

Of tempest athwart the light.

At last where the turmoil and terror

And chains of the world are naught

You're mine for inviolate moments,

Here, in the palace I've wrought.

"DEWAN"

PORTENTS IN THE PACIFIC

Coming events very often cast their shadows before. For several years past, the Far Eastern politics has been undergoing rapid changes and dramatic developments and it appears that the cauldron of the Pacific is very likely to produce something portentous and something terrible. The decision of the British Government to construct a first class Naval and Air Base at Singapore so soon after the conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles and the Washington Naval Disarmament Treaty points unmistakably to the conclusion that something is brewing in the Pacific Ocean. The passing of the American Immigration Act has caused intense bitterness of feeling in Japan and has also to that extent embittered the relations between Japan and America. The situation to-day, placid enough though it may appear on the surface, is not one from which contemplation draws reassurance. The projected American Naval manoeuvres with their base at the Hawaiian Islands have been looked upon by the Japanese as an infringement of the spirit, if not the letter, of the Washington Naval Treaty and they have still further increased the feelings of hostility between the two nations. In fact, many responsible Japanese people have already begun to suspect that the construction of the British Naval Base at Singapore followed by the American fortifications of the Hawaii Islands, heralds the dawn of a new "nut-cracker policy" on the part of the two Anglo-Saxon nations, intended ultimately to circumscribe Japan and prevent her expansion. The Coup-d'etat in Peking by which Wu Pei-fu, popularly called "England's man," has been vanquished, and Marshals Tuan Chi-jui and Chang Tso-lin and the once powerful pro-Japanese Anfu Party have come into power undoubtedly shows that at least for some time to come, Japan may expect a friendly Government functioning in China. Again, the Franco-Japanese Economic

Treaty coming into existence immediately after the dissolution of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, is highly significant and may be fraught with tremendous potentialities. Finally, the conclusion of the recent Russo-Japanese Treaty has momentous effects on world politics. It marks the beginning of a new era in the politics and problems of the Far East and there are the possibilities of new international groupings that may result from it, particularly the alliance of the Soviet and Germany with China and Japan. This indicates that the fulcrum of world power which lay so long in the North Sea has now shifted to the Western Pacific. Japan, the United States, Russia, Britain and possibly France have recognised this. Each is striving for the strongest possible position in case dispute should arise. Russia and Japan with probably China in their alliance have accepted a new orientation, while the United States and Britain are grouped in the opposite camp. Japan has hastened the conclusion of the Treaty with the Soviet for two reasons, namely, because Britain was determined to create a naval base at Singapore, and because Japan looks askance at the growing friendship between Great Britain and America. There can be no doubt that startling international combinations are ahead and they surely constitute a menace to the peace of the world.

The problem of the Pacific in the 20th century emerges directly from the settlement of the Congress of Berlin in 1878. That Conference, no doubt, attempted to solve the Near Eastern Question for the time being, but from the very nature of its solution sprang the Far Eastern Question. Russia, at all costs, wanted an outlet to the open Sea and at the time when the Congress of Berlin met, her ambition was an expansion towards the Black Sea and the Mediterranean at the expense of Turkey. But Great Britain stood for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and Russian schemes of expansion in the direction of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean were frustrated. In the 17th century, Russia

was baffled in her attempt to convert the Baltic Sea into a Russian lake and during the 18th and 19th centuries, she made ceaseless endeavours to obtain the mastery of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean; but all her attempts proved ultimately futile. The Congress of Berlin offered a quite different solution of the Near Eastern Question from what Russia had expected. Russia, therefore, made a new departure in her foreign policy. She began to cast her longing looks upon the Pacific and on the shores of the seas bordering on the Chinese Empire. She had already made during the period from 1850 to 1875 considerable encroachments from the north on the Amur region of Manchuria and from the north-west on Chinese Turkestan. The object pursued by Russia in the Far East was, it should be remembered, absolutely opposed to that of England; and concentrated itself on the one issue—the securing of open sea. The vast empire of the Tsars possessed no port in Europe where the “keys of the house” were in the hands, so to speak, of other powers. In the Far East by the middle of the last century Russia contrived to advance at the expense of China as far as Vladivostok but this port remains closed for two months on account of ice, and Russia, therefore, looked forward to the opportunity of pushing her way further south. After her disappointment in the Congress of Berlin, Russia adopted a vigorous Far Eastern policy; she seemed to covet Port Arthur or Talien-Wan, which are free of ice, and are situated at the extremity of the peninsula of Liao-tung; which would provide her access to an open sea at the back of Korea, and other advantages. Once established at Port Arthur, Russia could easily think of conquering Korea and later on dominating the whole Pacific. Unquestionably the dreams of Russian aggrandisement became very ambitious.

The Congress of Berlin also marks the opening of a new era in the history of European imperialism; an era of eager competition for the control of the still unoccupied

regions of the world, in which the concerns of remote lands suddenly became matters of supreme moment to the great European powers, and the peace of the world was endangered by questions arising in China or Siam, in Morocco or the Soudan, or the islands of the Pacific. It was a new race for colonial possessions amongst the Western powers and the control of Europe over the non-European world was in a single generation completed and confirmed. And one of the most important of the many questions raised by this development was the question of the Far East and the Pacific. The Far East, where the vast Empire of China seemed to be falling into decrepitude, afforded the most vexed problems of the period. Finally, the Pacific Islands were the scene of an active though less intense rivalry. The first of the powers to take advantage of this situation was France, who already possessed a footing in Cochin-China, and was tempted during the colonial enthusiasm of the 'eighties to transform it into a general supremacy over Annam and Tonking. The result was the Franco-Chinese War of 1880-1885 and it ended with the formal recognition of French suzerainty over Annam, and a further decline of Chinese prestige.

Ten years later a still more striking proof of Chinese weakness was afforded by the rapid and complete defeat of the vast, ill-organised Empire by Japan. The Chino-Japanese War of 1894-95 gave to Japan Formosa and the Pescadores Islands; and added her to the list of imperialist powers. She would have won more still—the Liao-tung peninsula and a sort of suzerainty over Korea—but that some European powers intervened to forbid these annexations, on the pretext of defending the integrity of China. Russia, France and Germany combined in this step; Britain stood aloof. Japan unwillingly gave way, and regarding Russia as the chief cause of her humiliation, began to prepare herself for a coming conflict. As for unhappy China, she was soon to learn how much sincerity there was in the zeal of Europe

for the maintenance of her integrity. In 1896 she was compelled to permit Russia to build a railway across Manchuria; and to grant to France a "rectification of frontiers" on the south, and the right of building a railway through the province of Yunnan, which lies next to Tonking. The intervention of what is known in the Far East as the New Triple Alliance resulted in still more grave and far-reaching consequences. The partition of China seemed to be at hand. Shortly afterwards in March, 1898, Germany seeking a 'place in the sun,' demanded from China a 'lease' of Kiaochow as recompense for the alleged murder of two German missionaries. Russia promptly followed suit by asking for and getting a 'lease' of Port Arthur, while every day her hold upon the great province of Manchuria was strengthened. Great Britain could not view with indifference these encroachments, and correspondingly to strengthen her strategic position acquired Wei-hai-wei, a dominating port in the Gulf of Pechili. France responded by getting the 'lease' of Kwangchowan. Thus all the European rivals were clustered round the decaying body of China; and in the last years of the century, entered upon a series of diplomatic contests which came to be known as the 'Battle of Concessions' and claimed 'spheres of influence' in the different parts of China. There were on all sides signs of an impending break up of the Chinese Empire. But the proclamation of the Hay Doctrine by America enunciating a policy of 'Open Door' for China, and the outburst of the Boxer Rising in 1900—caused mainly by resentment of foreign intervention—had the effect of postponing the rush for Chinese territory.

In the meantime, the partition of the Pacific Islands by Western powers was gradually completed; the chief participants being Germany, Britain and the United States of America. Here the preponderant influence had been in the hands of Britain ever since the days of Captain Cook. She had made some annexations during the first three quarters of

the century. France had acquired New Caledonia and the Marquesas Islands, but her activity in this region was never very great. The only other European power in possession of Pacific territories was Spain, who held the great Archipelago of the Philippines, and claimed also the numerous minute islands (nearly six hundred in number) which are known as Micronesia. When the colonial enthusiasm of the 'eighties began, Germany saw a fruitful field in the Pacific, and annexed the Bismarck Archipelago and the north-eastern quarter of New Guinea. Under pressure from Australia, who feared to see so formidable a neighbour established so near her coastline, Britain annexed the south-eastern quarter of that huge island. Then entered America into the race for imperial possessions in its last phase. She annexed Hawaii in 1898, and divided the Samoan group with Germany in 1899. Again, in 1898 she was drawn by the Cuban question into a war with Spain. Its result was the disappearance of the last relics of the Spanish Empire in the New World and in the Pacific. Cuba became an independent republic. Port Rico was annexed by America. In the Pacific the Micronesian possessions of Spain were acquired by Germany. Germany would fain have annexed also the Philippine Islands, but America intervened, and resolved herself to assume the task of organising and governing these rich lands. Her new possessions necessarily drew America into closer relations with the problems of the Far East. Thus by the beginning of the present century almost the entire region of the Pacific and the Far East came under the complete domination of the European and American powers.

A careful examination of the above-mentioned facts will show that the most outstanding feature of the international politics of the Far East at the beginning of the 20th century was the antagonism of interests between Russia and Great Britain, both of whom aspired to be the leading Asiatic power, and between Russia and Japan. At this time

also England's traditional friendship with Germany was weakening under the stress of growing commercial, naval, and colonial rivalry, while the dread of Russia increased and threatened to compromise her relations with Russia's ally, the French Republic with which she had many outstanding points of dispute, especially in Africa. (*cf.* The Fashoda Incident, 1898.) America at first maintained an attitude of aloofness from this entangling politics in conformity with the Monroe Doctrine, but during the years of universal imperialist excitement the spirit of imperialism seemed to have captured America also as it had captured the European States. The result of this was visible in the American annexation of the Hawaii Islands and the Philippine Islands in the Pacific. Naturally, having some Pacific interests, and apprehending danger to her political and commercial privileges in China from Russia and Germany, America stood forth in 1899 as a champion of the territorial integrity of the Chinese Empire and proclaimed the Hay Doctrine which enunciated the policy of "Open Door" for China. America dreaded especially the Russian encroachments but her policy at this time was not to involve herself completely in the perplexing politics of the Far East. England and Japan, however, could not view with indifference the Russian aggrandisement, because Russian expansion in the East came into conflict with British interests in China and India and Japanese interests in Korea, and might eventually threaten the very self-preservation of Japan. An Anglo Japanese Treaty of Alliance was, therefore, signed in January, 1902, between England and Japan. Germany now was busy in organising her recently acquired territories and in consolidating her own position by an ambitious and far-reaching commercial and naval programme. So she did not identify herself definitely with either England and Japan, or Russia and France, so far as the politics of Far East was concerned.

The Russo-Japanese War would presumably not have taken place but for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902. It was, as we have seen, inspired by fear of Russia, and was framed with a view to preventing the Russian Government, in the event of war with Japan or England, from calling upon the help of France. The Alliance served its purpose admirably for both parties during the Russo-Japanese War. It kept France from joining Russia and thereby enabled Japan to acquire command of the Pacific. It also enabled Japan to weaken Russia, and Japan thus indirectly helped the British by curbing Russian ambition in the Far East. By the Treaty of Portsmouth Russia not only agreed to recognise Japan's rights in Korea, but undertook to evacuate Manchuria, and to restore to Japan the peninsula of Liao-tung, in which Port Arthur is situated. In the meantime, during the year 1904, what was called an *Entente Cordiale* was gradually established between England and France. In 1907, the Anglo-Russian Convention removed all outstanding causes of dispute between the two parties in regard to the problems of the Far East. But the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was once more renewed in 1911. This time there was no danger from Russia, but Germany was rising and she threatened to occupy the position formerly held by Russia in the Far East. German naval and colonial ambitions in the Pacific came into direct conflict with the interests of Great Britain and Japan and therefore it was considered essential that England should once more refresh her alliance with her old and well-tried friend and ally, Japan.

There can be no doubt that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance did inestimable service to the British Empire during the last great war in so far as Japan took upon herself the task of patrolling the Pacific and keeping that ocean clear of German ships. But Japan gained enormously during the war, perhaps far more than her sacrifices might have justified her

to expect. From the time of its first formation in 1902 to the year 1921 when it was dissolved, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was the sheet anchor of Japanese foreign policy and the phenomenal national progress and political importance of Japan during this period was due, in a large measure, to the conclusion of this Alliance, and with its help Japan dominated the politics of the Far East for about a quarter of a century. Ever since the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth (1905) Japan has followed a subtle, consistent policy of fomenting and financing internal troubles in China likely to prove to her advantage, of acquiring territory and industrial concessions, and, above all, of excluding foreign competition. The last great war became particularly favourable to Japan's ambitions and interests in China and in the Pacific. In the first year of the war (November, 1914) Japan captured Tsing-tau in Kiao-chau, and on January 15, 1915, she presented to the Chinese the famous Twenty-One Demands. On May 9, of the same year, China, under the pressure of a Japanese ultimatum, had to accept the Demands. These involved a complete loss of Chinese independence and the political domination of China by Japan. The European or American powers did not raise a voice of protest against such an aggression. On the other hand, Great Britain and her allies, France, Russia and Italy concluded a series of secret agreements with Japan in February and March, 1917, by which they pledged themselves to "support Japan's claims in regard to the disposal of Germany's rights in Shantung, and possessions in the Islands (of the Pacific) North of the Equator, on the occasion of the Peace Conference." Even America concluded in November of the same year the Lansing-Ishii Agreement with Japan by which the Government of the United States recognised that Japan had special interests in China, particularly in the parts to which her possessions were contiguous. During the peace negotiations at Versailles, England, France and Italy, in virtue of

secret agreements, were compelled to support the Japanese claims to Shantung and the German Islands in the Pacific North of the Equator. But the Chinese delegates at Versailles resisted the Japanese claim to Shantung to the last, and finally refused to sign the treaty and withdrew from the Peace Conference. This, however, made no impression upon the great powers assembled around the peace table. Their primary object was to kill Germany and any price could not be too dear for that. President Wilson cleanly forgot his "Fourteen Points" and sacrificed everything at the altar of his League of Nations.

Such was the settlement of the Far Eastern Question by the Peace Conference of Versailles in 1919. No attention was paid to the wrongs that were done to China; on the other hand, the allied powers helped to augment still further the political power and prestige of Japan. In 1904 the chief disturber of peace in the Far East was Russia. The shadow of Russia at the strategical northern frontier of China caused the greatest apprehension and anxiety in the minds of British and American politicians and Great Britain and America were glad that Japan could check the progress of Russian encroachments during the Russo-Japanese War. The Treaty of Portsmouth (1905), therefore, was looked upon by these powers as a great achievement which offered a satisfactory solution, from their own point of view, of the problem of the Pacific at that time. But in the meantime and during the next decade Germany was, as we have seen, rapidly growing in power and importance and wanted a 'place in the sun' which threatened to upset the *status quo* and the balance of power in the Far East. So in the Peace of Versailles allied statesmanship was primarily busy in eliminating the German menace from the Pacific. As the result of the Treaty, German islands in the Pacific north of the equator went to Japan and German islands south of the equator went to Great Britain and her Colonies. England and America, however,

at this time did but little realise that in depriving Germany of all her possessions and power in the Pacific they were indirectly helping the rise and adding to the strength of another potential Pacific danger who might one day prove to be a very formidable enemy, namely, Japan. But the pleasure of striking down a fallen enemy was perhaps too alluring to allow any such consideration to prevail.

From the point of view of a permanent or a stable solution of the Far Eastern question the Versailles Conference committed two fundamental blunders. First of all, it ignored the rights of China as a sovereign state and as a member of the family of nations. It gave away Shantung to Japan in spite of vehement Chinese protests and in spite of the fact that China was an ally and was made to declare war against Germany in favour of England, France and America. The Conference also had not a word to record against the Twenty-One Demands which involved such national humiliation for the Chinese. Secondly, the allied powers did not at all consider that Russia counted as an important factor in the international politics of the Far East. These two grievous errors—one, the ignoring of the rights and privileges of China, and the other, the failure to realise the importance of Russia in any settlement of the Pacific Question—foredoomed the solution of the Far Eastern problem by the Peace Conference of Versailles to miserable failure.

(To be continued.)

TRIPURARI CHAKRAVARTI

Correspondence

THE VṚṢĀKAPI HYMN.

To

THE EDITOR, *Calcutta Review*

SIR,

I beg to draw the attention of your readers to a new interpretation I have recently proposed on the famous Vṛṣākapi Hymn (Rigveda, X, 86 and Atharvaveda, XX, 126) in the Allahabad University Journal (Vol. I, pp. 97-156). The hymn is considered as very obscure, and very various are the interpretations that have been put on it. To me it appeared that there was really no obscurity, all the difficulty being due to the assumption (by European scholars) that *Kapī* meant 'monkey.' Śaunaka in his *Bṛhaddevatā* seems to understand the word to mean simply *Kapila* 'tawny-coloured,' a meaning which is supported by the text (हरितो वृषः in v. 3). Indian tradition knows Vṛṣākapi to represent the Sun, and I have found this equation fully supported by verses 19-21 of the hymn. The hymn contains a dialogue between Indra and Indrāṇī over some offence of Vṛṣākapi. Indrāṇī tries to rouse the anger of Indra against him, but fails, and ultimately she has to be reconciled to Vṛṣākapi. Considerable imagination has been used by my predecessors in understanding what the offence was. But it has seemed to me that the text is very plain in making Vṛṣākapi usurp the especial worship of Aryans which was Indra's wont—an offence which would naturally cause the indignation of Indra's wife Indrāṇī. The very opening verse and the following one show this:—

वि हि सोतोदृच्छत नेन्द्र देवमम सत । यवावदद हवाकपिरथः पुष्टेषु मत्सखा विश्वामादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥२॥

परा हीन्द्र धावसि हवाकपेरति व्यथिः । नो ब्रह्म प्रविन्दत्यनुच सोमपौतये विश्वामादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१॥

which may be translated as “(1) Men have given up the pressing of the Soma and they have not been worshipping the god Indra, whereas my ‘friend’ Vṛṣākapi has been exhilarating himself in the wealth (i.e., offerings) of the pious (or the rich). Indra is superior to all. (2) Thou passest by, Indra, without minding, the transgression of Vṛṣākapi, but thou findest not Soma to drink anywhere else. Indra is superior to all.” Indrāṇī uses all the feminine guiles to bring over Indra to her point of view and to alienate his mind against Vṛṣākapi, but Indra continues impervious and says in

verse 12, "I have never joyed Indrāṇī, without my friend Vṛṣākapi, whose dear watery oblation (Soma?) goes to the gods. Indra is superior to all." Vṛṣākapi is the Sun and the Rgveda has made Viṣṇu, also a solar deity (the same deity?). इन्द्रस्य युज्यः सखा "the associate friend of Indra." Consequently Indra could not be made jealous of Vṛṣākapi. Indrāṇī even appeals to Vṛṣākapāyī, Vṛṣākapi's wife, to allow Indra to partake of Soma and the animal offerings, but Indra magnanimously interposes and says that he is contented with only the bulls (secondary offerings?). Indrāṇī tries to rouse a longing in Indra's mind for the Soma drink (principal offering?) but she fails. She then ridicules him for his puritanism but is rebutted. Indrāṇī was soon compelled to give up her unsuccessful efforts and to welcome Vṛṣākapi to their home. "विश्वामा इन्द्र उत्तरः" 'Indra is above all' is the refrain of every verse. It is evident from the hymn that there was prevailing somewhere and at some period an especial worship of the Sun, ousting the worship of the old national god Indra. This must have roused orthodox opposition which required to be silenced. Our poet does this by diplomatically acknowledging the superiority of Indra in so many words (विश्वमादिन्द्र उत्तरः) and by getting the 'new' cult approved by Indra himself. The last verse of the hymn is very peculiar. It says that one Parśu Mānavī (the 'woman' or 'human wife') brought forth at one birth twenty children and though her burden had caused her pain it is good that has now come out of it! What on earth can this mean? The author, apparently a lady, has been pleading so cleverly for the worship of Vṛṣākapi. Does she look upon herself as his human spouse? If so, there is obvious erotic mysticism here. This alone can explain 'twenty children at one birth' which is a human impossibility. It is possible, as verse 4 indicates, that Vṛṣākapi has been looked upon as a boar. If so, Parśu Mānavī is a 'sow'; and certainly sows bring forth quite a large number of offspring at one birth. This sounds very strange. But we know that in Purāṇic times Viṣṇu (originally a Sun-god) was said to have incarnated himself as a Boar; and Vedic (Brāhmaṇic) source of this legend has been already found. The erotic mysticism that grew around the figure of Kṛṣṇa, another incarnation of Viṣṇu, is a fact very well known to people. Searching for Vedic parallels, I find in R.V., VIII, 80 (91) a relation of erotic mysticism between Apālā (and a class of similar virgins) and Indra. It is from this point of view that the erotic verses at the end of VIII. 1 are probably to be explained.

The author of R.V., X, 86 is Parśu Mānavī. Mānavī can hardly be her personal name. Nor can Parśu be so, for a prince has been given this name in VIII, 6. 46, and we can never expect a female to be named as a

male. Parśu is therefore a clan name. R.V., VIII, 6.46 makes Tirindira Parśu a Yādva = Yādava. The Parśus were therefore in all probability Yādavas. R.V., VIII, 1.31 probably gives a variant from (Paśú) for the name Párśu, the change in accent being possibly responsible for the syncope of *r*— it is also thinkable that the form Paśú (instead of Párśu) is due to a 'metrical shortening,' a phenomenon not unknown. There too Yādava connexion is evident. I therefore infer that the Vṛṣākapi Hymn was composed by a Yādava lady. This at once reminds us that it is amongst these Yādavas that Kṛṣṇa lived and, according to legends, had *rāsalīlā* or amorous sports with *gopīs*. The hymns VIII. 80 (91) and X. 86 when studied together prove that Sun-worship supplanted Indra-worship, at least in a particular (Yādava) community, and assimilated, among other things, its erotic mysticism. Both these hymns, which are certainly earlier than the time of Kṛṣṇa, show that the legends of Kṛṣṇa's dalliances with the cowherd girls are due to an actual prevalence in historical times of erotic worship of the Godhead (Indra at one time and the Sun at a later stage or in a different section of the community) by a class of females who remained unmarried. Why Kṛṣṇa was identified with Viṣṇu now becomes clear, for Viṣṇu, the Sun, became the national god of the Yādavas: the national hero easily passes into or is identified with the national god. The hymn X. 86 probably illumines also the origin of Bhāgavatism: Bhagavant may have originally been 'the Radiant One,' 'the Sun.'

The connexion between Parśu and Persia is most obvious. In the Babylonian inscriptions the Perses have been called Parśus. Mithraism, an especial worship of the Sun, certainly flourished in Persia. But as the Parśus are a section of the Yādavas of hoary Indian antiquity, the Persians seem to have migrated from India. Rai Bahadur R. C. Chanda certainly derived the Yādavas from Iran but his arguments do not stand criticism. The Yādavas are mentioned in even the earliest portions of the R̥gveda but the Perses are not mentioned in any western inscription before the 9th century B.C., whereas the Medes receive this mention as early as the 28th century B.C. The Perses may therefore have migrated from India in probably historical times, after the Bhārata battle.

It will be thus seen that my paper raises two important issues, one about the cultural history of India and another about the racial history of Iran. The second point has been only incidentally touched upon, and no justice could be done to it. I therefore intend writing in detail on this subject at an early date. But what I have written on the former subject in the paper mentioned above and in this note will afford to scholars some materials for

reflection. Will they kindly pay any serious attention to them and consider if I do or do not solve some old problems? I invite criticism from the knowing public and if they can disillusion me I shall be much obliged and I shall acknowledge my error openly.

Yours, etc.,

KSHETRESACHANDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA

P.S.—The erotic mysticism in R.V. VIII, 1, VIII 80 (91) and X. 86 is probably to be connected with the (revolting) ceremony the *mahiṣī* has to perform with the stifled horse (a symbol for the Sun) in the *Aśvamedha*. One would also think here of the symbolic 'obscenities' of many primitive peoples to help the fertilising of the earth, for which we have a Vedic parallel in the *Mahāvarata* rite. Turning to Iran, I may note that some scholars have supposed that *Yasna* 32. 10 points to nocturnal orgies among some worshippers of Mithra; but I have myself not been able to understand the passage in that light. But the fact that Herodotus (I. 131) confounds Mithra with Mylitta, the Assyrian goddess of child-bearing may indicate some erotic element in the Mithra-cult of his day. One should note that the "Father of History" makes Mithra a foreign importation in Persia. The Semitic derivation has been rejected by scholars as absurd. It is commonly believed by Avestan scholars that Mithra was introduced ('re-introduced') into the Zoroastrian pantheon after Zarathushtra. We may now think that the cult went from India or received an impetus from that source. In conclusion I may remind scholars of *Yasna* 42. 4-6 and the interpretation Tiele has put on it, though I am not sure that he is right in making *Soma* 'Indian' and not 'Aryan' (or, according to his own language, 'East-Aryan'). Lastly, does not the *Bacchanals* of Euripides support the westward migration of a female cult of erotic mysticism resembling what we find in R. V. VIII. 80 (91)?

K. C. C.

REFLECTIONS

(BY A POLITICAL ORPHAN)

[Reprinted from *Capital*]

The Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University has once again come to the fore. But not in the battered condition in which the public found it when Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and the first Minister for Education under the Reformed régime had a stiff tussle over it nearly three years ago. The thick mist of doubt and misunderstanding seems to have vanished altogether and the *raison d'être* of the Department stands fully justified. And the voice of calumny which sought to belittle it more out of spite for Sir Asutosh than in the interests of higher culture seems to have been completely hushed. Bengal now realises that the Post-Graduate Department is an important annexe of the University, and during the period it has been in existence it has materially contributed to the stock of world's knowledge and successfully dug up the *débris* of ancient learning in India. The most notable convert to this idea is His Excellency Lord Lytton, who, since Sir Asutosh's death, has, on more occasions than one, promised it unstinted financial support so that it may thrive and function on proper lines.

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It seems a Committee recently investigated the question of ways and means and produced a majority report and a minority note. The two agree so far as the fundamental principles go, but disagree mainly as regards the recruitment and maintenance of the staff. The minority put forward the claims of the tutorial staffs of the several colleges of Bengal—of Calcutta colleges in particular—and urge that it was possible and in fact essential that a proper synthesis should be built up between the Central Department and its constituent colleges. The attitude of the colleges is easily

explained. When Lord Curzon was hicking his Universities Act into shape, his great idea was to make the Calcutta University both a teaching and an examining body and the great outcry in those days against his measure was raised by the vested interests which were naturally very materially hurt. And the result was that the Post-Graduate classes as they then existed in the colleges became in process of time quite extinct. The colleges, therefore, have a grievance against the Post-Graduate Department—a grievance quite academic, but a grievance all the same. The ambition of the colleges to contribute to Post-Graduate work is praiseworthy and quite legitimate, but how far their man-power is adequate for the purpose is a question in respect of which opinion is bound to be, and in fact is, sharply divided. Even the spokesman of the colleges at Saturday's meeting of the Senate was constrained to admit that "no doubt some of the colleges might have forwarded exaggerated estimates of their own resources"—an admission which, it is to be feared, will be amply verified by evidence if the personnel of the tutorial staffs of not all but of a large number of the colleges are closely scrutinized. As a matter of fact, the practice, as a rule, has been in the selection of tutors for the Post-Graduate classes to enlist the services of the best men available whether locally or from abroad—chosen not indiscriminately but with the utmost care and discrimination—men who would do honour to the Department and not men who would feel honoured by being associated with it. And that is why the fame of the Department has travelled beyond India and that is why it has attracted men with a European reputation to place their services at its disposal. It would be false economy, detrimental to the best interests of the Department and quite repugnant to the aims it has in view if third-class local men were imported to do the work which none but first class brains are competent to discharge. It seems the minority group are fully cognisant of the disastrous effect of such an arrangement, and lest they should be

misunderstood; their spokesman on Saturday repudiated the idea of effecting "devastating and hampering economy" at the cost of efficiency. This is taking up a dubious position which can be easily assailed.

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The majority group are whole-hoggers. Very appropriately. Have the Department in its entirety or not have it at all. The majority spokesman seemed to have stood on a very higher ground and tackled the situation very cleverly. On Saturday, he detailed the entire Post-graduate programme and attached as much importance to research work as to lecture work and Post-graduate teaching. The two must proceed side by side—the concentration of knowledge acquired in the course of laborious days and teaching the young mind how to shoot. Both are in the end destined to be a huge national asset. If that inspires respect and admiration for the nation abroad, this peoples the body politic with minds, well balanced and well trained capable of seeing things in their proper perspective. A programme, like this, is inevitably linked with the question of *£ s. d.* One must pay for a luxury—even for the luxury of being great and good. Here comes in the question of State aid—of the duty of the State with regard to education. The last word on this duty has been said and the accepted policy in all modern States is that the State can't shirk this obvious duty. It has been calculated that the up-keep of the Post-graduate Department will cost a heavy sum, and in view of its depleted finances the University will be face to face with a huge deficit. The spokesman of the majority group tells us:—They had calculated carefully their financial liabilities that the proposal would involve for the next five years. In 1925-26, their deficit was likely to be Rs. 2,49,000; in 1926-27, Rs. 2,50,000; in 1927-28, Rs. 2,71,000; in 1928-29, Rs. 2,96,000, and in 1929-30, Rs. 3,21,000. That was what the adoption of the majority

report would entail. The figures, of course, are such as to make many people wink and the enemies of Post-graduate education chuckle. The spokesman of the majority group was fully aware how his deficit figures would be received, and to hearten all he added: "They need not worry about the deficit in view of His Excellency the Chancellor's promise that the Government would give whatever financial assistance was necessary to give stability to this most important department of the University. He maintained that the cost of maintaining the Post-graduate Department of this University was not excessive in comparison with the cost of such Departments in Dacca, Lucknow, and Allahabad Universities." The up-country cases are quite "in point."

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Could the consideration of the matter have been postponed? It would have been a blunder if it had been. The interests of both the teachers and the taught would have irreparably suffered. Already within the last three or four years, the uncertainty of the tenure of office on the tutorial staff of the Department due to unseemly and meaningless wrangles between the University and the Ministry of Education has scared away a number of qualified teachers who have been absorbed by the sister and rival Universities in the neighbouring Provinces on higher emoluments. It is true man does not live by bread alone. But it is equally true that our daily bread is a material aid to our moral, intellectual and spiritual well-being. One speaker on Saturday very cleverly forecasted what would have been the case if the question had been shelved till July. He clothed his speech in humorous language but he said what he had to say with telling effect. He pointed out that "the acceptance of the adjournment motion would mean the termination of the service of the Post-graduate teachers on 31st May. The Post-graduate Department would have to close its doors then (Voice: No, no) as without the teachers the Department

would be dead, and when they met on 18th July they would meet to hold its post-mortem examination (Voice: No, no). The Senate would then be like a Coroner's court (laughter) with the Vice-Chancellor as the Coroner and the verdict of the jury (the Senators) would be 'Cold-blooded murder' (laughter)." His speech and the plaintive voice of Science seem to have won the day and the motion for adjournment was negatived by a large majority.

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Is there party-spirit in the University? It would be disastrous if it was there. It was disclaimed by all excepting a section of the Moslem group. It was a distinctly jarring note that this group raised. It would have been dignified and decorous if it had been banished altogether. The sequestered shades of the academics were not meant for the clarion sound of racial or political vituperation. But let that go. Possibly it was a spasmodic outburst. The last speech on Saturday stood for the independence of the University as to how it spent the grants when the Government made them. The speaker quoted the latest practice abroad. He said that "during the last year he had travelled over most of the intellectual centres of Europe and America, and knowing the opinions of the eminent educationists of those countries, he said that the spirit in which the minority report had approached the question of University organization was entirely unlike the spirit in which such questions were approached in great centres of learning abroad." But the question was thoroughly threshed out by the University Grants Committee about three years ago. That Committee's report embodies the latest idea on the subject of University grants as it prevails in the civilized world and bears the unmistakable impress of Sir Asutosh's towering genius. The great man has left a record of his research in this line which it will be hard to beat for years to come. That is apparently the University's *vade mecum* to-day on the subject of grants.

Reviews

Economic Conditions in India, by P. Padmanabha Pillai, B.A., B.L., Ph.D.,—Published by Routledge—pp. 329—price 12s. 6d. net.

The author's sole aim is "to take stock of the possibilities of developing Indian industries on modern lines and to study the economic life of India with special reference to its industrial organisation." In Part I he refutes the theory of the 'Golden past' very much on the lines Prof. MacGregor disputes the 'Merrie England' fallacy and correctly observes that the new national awakening is compelling the attention of the people towards industrial regeneration. Part II confines itself to a study of the agricultural situation. In Part III the small-scale or cottage industries and the present large-scale industries are studied. The remaining factors of production, capital, labour and organisation are rapidly surveyed. The last chapter expounds his views on the undesirability of protection on the ground that India is industrially unprepared to receive any benefit out of this movement counteracting the evils befalling the agricultural section of society which comes up to 72% of the total population of India. The industrial salvation has to be obtained by other means outlined on page 328.

Before commenting on the views of the author a word or two have to be said regarding Dr. G. Slater's introductory note. Both Drs. Pillai and Slater attack the older generation of Economists for the lack of 'constructive ideas' as it has been stated. The older writers like G. V. Joshi, Dadabhai Naoroji, R. C. Dutt, M. G. Ranade and G. Subramania Iyer were not primarily professional economists and that is the chief reason why they have not gone much deeper into the study of economic problems. But they cannot be considered as amateurs incapable of making constructive suggestions. To deny that their writings contain any useful lines of criticism is only to display one's ignorance of their writings. But unfortunately they had no influence over the bureaucracy and their recommendations fell on deaf ears with the result that the exploitation-cum-administration policy has been unchecked with what result need not be stated in this review. Had Mr. Joshi's advice been followed, the feverish expansion of railways would have been checked and a simultaneous expansion of irrigation projects would have immensely improved agriculture to the lasting benefit of

the Indian people. Lack of space forbids me to deal in seriatim with their recommendations, which, if carried out would have facilitated the economic progress of the country.

We owe our thanks to Dr. Slater for admitting two things (a) that the poverty of India is a grim fact. (p. xii), (b) that it is possible to develop manufacturing industries in India. It must be remembered that the English Economists believe in the application of the principle of the Territorial Division of Labour to its extreme length which has been so successfully caricatured by Dr. Bowley in his "England's Foreign Trade in XIXth century." Even such a well-informed Economist like J. M. Keynes holds the opinion that the future of India lies in developing her agriculture. He takes much pains to refute the statement of Sir Morison that "Bombay is the presage of the Future" (Ecoc. Jor., 1911, p. 427).

Dr. Slater like the other western economists believes that the "universality of marriage" in India is the real stumbling block in the path of India's economic progress and unless this stubborn tendency is overcome even the trilinear advance proposed by Dr. Pillai would be of little consequence in bettering economic conditions in India. We are sorry that Dr. Slater overlooks certain factors which tend to mitigate the evil consequences of these marriages. Mr. Martin says that "uncontrolled marital relations have given India a high average birth-rate but it is more than counterbalanced by diseases which keep up the level of the death rate." In addition to this, serious catastrophes like the Influenza Epidemic or disastrous floods or famines overtake her and the real increase of population is generally lower in India than all the European countries with the exception of France. (See Prof. Brij Narain, Population of India, p. 10.) Nor is the birth-rate of this country so excessive as to bring about an undesirable density of population. It is an industrialised country with intensive agriculture that possesses the largest density of population. (See "Is Unemployment Inevitable," p. 61.) We believe that this feature of "universal marriage" needs strong condemnation from the eugenic standpoint. But we do not hold the opinion that the growth of population arising out of this peculiar feature, is a standing menace to future economic progress. If the trilinear advance succeeds in increasing the income of the people it might not result in over-population. Increase in income as the Early Victorian Economists, from the time of J. S. Mill have been stating, need not necessarily

be put to 'population-use' but it may raise the standard of comfort of the population. Both Profs. Brentano and Pigou support this view of Prof. Leroy Beaulieu. It is the low standard of living, which is the result of our low productivity that is chiefly responsible for the growth of the population. An increased income secured out of higher productivity would lead to an increase in the wants of the population and the level of culture would be raised. So the trilinear advance would automatically control the tendency of the population to grow in large numbers. It is not the universality of marriage that has to be condemned. In the hot climate like India's the evils of the postponement of marriage would be very great. It would lead to the increase of the 'white slave traffic' and the spread of venereal diseases which so vitally undermine the physical efficiency and vitality of the population. Even the westerners are now realising the evils of late marriages in the ranks of their upper and middle classes of society. (See J. Swinburne—The Population Problem, p. 377.). As the religious and family ideals of the Indian people cannot be changed all of a sudden, we cannot depend on Dr. Slater's remedy being carried out. It is the limitation of the birth rate by use of harmless contraceptive methods as in the case of the Dutch people, that is a promising remedy for the existing state of things. The preaching of the Malthusian Law and advocating the prudential measure of "moral restraint" is altogether an unsatisfactory line of reasoning. A professional economist might be forgiven for this advice but the Government takes shelter behind this inexorable law and tries to justify the absence of any definite economic policy furthering our economic progress. It has unwisely allowed the overburdened families to deal with the problem themselves. The Indian Government, like the western ones, should meet the cost of rearing children by granting maternity benefits, making provision for health compensation and other forms of insurance under its control, the insisting of longer rest periods and vacations for women workers in our factories, the allowing of income-tax exemptions in proportion to the number of children, the segregating of hereditary defectives at state expense. (See MacDougall, Social Psychology.) The British Government Officials, though shrewd enough to diagnose the economic cancer eating the very vitals of our people, have not been magnanimous enough to undertake measures to check this evil. The example of the American officials of the Phillipine Islands had not been imitated. (See Round Table, Sep., 1924, p. 746.)

Coming to the thesis itself the one striking feature is the clear analysis and summarising of the economic situation which we find portrayed in the different village surveys that have been undertaken recently in this country. The real merit of a Doctorate thesis ought not to lie in an excellent summarising of the past situation but in making new, valuable and constructive suggestions for the improvement of the present situation and realisation of a better future. It is not the mere repeating of either economic history or economic theory that can afford salvation to India's economic future. It is applied economics that is the supreme need of the hour. If this be the high ideal that is adopted in judging this book, it would be really disappointing to read so many pages without coming across any single original suggestion of the author. The recommendations on page 328 are only an amplification of the final conclusion of the Indian Industrial Commission which says that the Government has to help the industrial situation by an organised administrative, technical and financial assistance.

There are certain statements which need revision in order to be considered as correct. Atkinson's estimates of the national per capital income of the Indian people as given out by Dr. Pillai do not tally with those of the Indian Economic Enquiry Committee. Dr. Pillai says that "the revenue demand of the Government from land is not impeding agricultural progress" (see p. 127). It is true that since the time of Lord Curzon-Dutt controversy the state has not only been moderating its demand but considerate enough to make allowance for the misfortunes befalling the Indian ryots. But when we consider the load of indebtedness on their shoulders and the indirect taxation they are subject to even this moderate demand seems to be excessive to us and the present attempt on the part of the Punjab and U. P. Governments to lower their proportion of revenue demanded from the ryot and to grant land leases for longer periods is a tacit admission of the fact that its demand is excessive and the reduction ought to be welcomed for the Government has now come to realise that "India is the ryot and the ryot is India." The treatment of the labour movement is not satisfactory. The advisability or otherwise of allowing the 'economic penetration' by foreign capitalists is not discussed. While considering the failure of the export duty on raw hides and skins, he does not discuss the preferential clause attached to this duty and he skips over the important practical problem of Imperial Preference. We admit that India is not industrially prepared to reap any profits arising out of a general protectionist advance but if things are allowed to

go adrift India can never become industrialised. Some amount of sacrifice is necessary and the policy of "discriminating protection" as adumbrated by the Indian Fiscal Commission is absolutely necessary and the selection of the really deserving industries is the primordial duty of the present Tariff Board. He is apprehensive of the deleterious influence that foreign capitalists might exercise over the Indian industrialists by competing with them by setting up their factories within India's territorial limits so as to render unnecessary the climbing of a Tariff wall that might be raised in the future. But this can be checked to a certain extent if proper laws regarding the registration of industrial concerns are formulated making it compulsory not only to seek the co-operation of the Indian capitalists but to make provision for Indian members on the Directorate and for the imparting of training to the staff in intricate technical details. (For instance see the recent regulations framed by the Indian Government to permit companies to start the Radio business in India.)

We cannot resist the temptation to compare the recent publication—"Wealth of India" by Wadia and Joshi which covers almost the same ground as this book. There are strong reasons for doing so for the Secretary of State has subsidised the author and enabled him to publish this thesis. The wide reading, the easy and felicitous style, the accurate understanding of economic theory and a lucid interpretation of it which we meet with in the "Wealth of India" cannot be found in this thesis, while the study of the agricultural situation has been remarkably done in the "Wealth of India" we do not meet with such thoroughness in any part of this thesis. As an intelligent recasting of the facts and figures distributed broadcast in the different government reports and recent village surveys the thesis of Dr. Pillai has to be admired but it suffers incomparably when contrasted with the production of the Bombay authors. This leads us to one conclusion. Should we not insist, as Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar has pointed out already, that a thesis on Indian economic topics should be examined by competent Indian authorities. It might be an advantageous thing if the Inter-University Board in India would succeed in establishing the practice of making the American and the English Universities send a thesis dealing with Indian topics to eminent Indian Professors distinguished for research work. There is no dearth of such able men in this country at present. The so-called equality of the Indian Universities with the Western ones would be a pure myth without such co-operation.

X. Y. Z.

Forest Meditation, by James H. Cousins (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, 1925) is a small book of poems embodying the latest artistic utterances of a distinguished member of the Irish Movement whose fine sensitiveness to all that is spiritually beautiful is matched by the consummate art of delicate workmanship.

Like Shelley he brings from afar a message of hope and love to an age torn with doubts, disappointment and disillusionment. There is a sublime grandeur in the bright hope so beautifully embodied, for instance, in the lines (from "The Installation of the First Woman Magistrate in India," who, by the way, is no other than 'the author's wife.')

"She shall smooth out with healing hand
The twisted purpose of offence.
No sword her sentence will demand
Where love awakens penitence."

As the singer of "A Chant in Time of Battle" the poet avers

"I will raise my voice in thanksgiving, to the God of Battles
That eyes that were dark in peacetime win sight in the
Have glimpse of the larger vision, of the end of the
When peace on earth shall be sequel to peace in the
heart of man."

The title-piece, "The First Wind" and "the Sirens" furnish the keynote to the characteristic spirit of the school of poetry to which this poet's homage remains unshaken in the midst of all the blatant demands of present-day hard realism which is the creed of "those clamouring sceptics" that are all "arms and ears and eyes" and nothing more.

The Proem appropriately tells us

"One theme alone my Daemon sings
The spirit mixed in mortal things.
She sings no passing wind or tree
She sings their haunting mystery."

This promise is made good in "Offertory" in a very significant way. The rare power of true and correct appreciation by a Westerner (who, however, is anything but an alien in the present case)—born of perfect imaginative and emotional sympathy that alone can successfully break down racial and geographical barriers—of the absolute trustfulness and self-surrender implied in the outward offering of "jasmine flowers and rice" by a common *coolie* woman, "bare of foot and dark of skin," made

"In a little wayside shrine

* * *

On the dusty Adyar road

* * *

Where the symbolled Power Divine,
Less beheld than felt,
Dimly dwelt"—

enables this mystic poet to penetrate through the mere outer shell of things into the kernel within and vividly represent the very soul of Indian devotional piety.

As for Nature poetry, "Poppies in Corn" is delightfully reminiscent of Wordsworth's "Daffodils" with this notable distinction that it has a more delicate touch of craftsmanship and a deeper note (of mysticism) besides its suggestive symbolism in lines like

"Blood of the mystic Christ
Eternally sacrificed!"

But, as the poet adds,

"Who shall the vision tell?
Before the unletterable
In burning Beauty's trance
The harp of utterance
Falls dumbly from the hand,
Clasped silently we stand."

The deep faith of the Catholic devotee is finely expressed in the third piece of "Love in Exile" of which the fourth sonnet may be taken as the criterion by which the spirit of Cousins's poetry may be discriminated from the

Wordsworthian mystic communion with Nature. Associations of the Catholic form of worship are occasionally worked with fine effect into the poetic fabric of pieces like "White and Red."

The Second piece in "Love's Immortality" with its intense yet subdued fervour of a yearning for re-union after temporary severance through death is exquisite in its haunting idea.

If Mr. Cousins is Shelleyan in his message of hope and love, he is particularly so because his inspiration is mainly drawn from things spiritual, for, he always apprehends even the world of sights and sounds with the penetrating vision of an idealist. But he has drunk deep also of the spirit of Indian mysticism as represented by the Upanishads (cf. "The Secret."

J. G. B.

Seeking and other Poems by Syamsundar Lal Chordia (with a foreword by C. Beggane, the Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad, 1925), is a slender volume of sonnets some of which attain high poetic distinction. The "Foreword" very appropriately observes that "each of the sonnets enshrines some vivid little glimpse of Indian life or landscape."

This is particularly true of "Krishna's Call" with its never-failing appeal to the imagination of Hindu India, strengthened, as it is, by the idyllic charm of its pastoral associations.

One is powerfully impressed by the depth of emotional fervour which animates "Worship" and "My Ashoka" is a sonnet possessing a fine poetic beauty distinctly its own.

"The Jagmandir at Udaipur," "The Fatehsagar at Udaipur" and "The Taj" deserve special notice. The dying cadence of the last three lines of the first piece is exquisite and it brings the little poem harmoniously to a fine close. "The Taj" is a magnificent poetic utterance as deep in meaning as it is suggestive of an unearthly beauty. It also contains a sublime note of optimism through resignation definitely Indian.

"The Pilgrim" is also similar in tone and imagery and its Nature background is significantly suggestive.

"Pralaya" is finely conceived and nicely executed but in "Maya," "Lord Buddha" and "Kalki Avatar" the author reaches a higher height of philosophic vision characteristically Indian. "Maya" has in it, however, a Spenserian ring and "Spring" reminds one of Keats's nature magic.

For rich imagery and genuine lyric quality of absolutely sincere self-expression one may turn to "Offerings," Nos. I and II, "Twilight Thoughts" No. II and "Swan Song," the last of which is indeed rich in song quality besides being charming in melodious diction.

These few poems are a definite contribution to the ever-growing volume of "Anglo-Indian" poetry which is rightly claiming the serious attention of contemporary criticism.

J. G. B.

Divine Indifference and other stories by SSL. Chorida. (The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad, 1925) is a slender volume of 7 pieces (with a Foreword by Biggame) of which the last two "Hamir and Sumen" and "Bela Phule Adhi Rat (i.e. the Bela flower blossoms at mid-night) are fine pathetic love stories with a haunting romance of their own.

The author possesses a power of vivid word-painting truly admirable and his simple bits of descriptive touches are sometimes highly suggestive. The picturesque background of nature delineation is often made to heighten the beauty of the story told effectively and, when the theme requires it, he adds a moving pathos the appeal of which to the reader's heart is instantaneous.

Foreigners are likely to be specially impressed by the Oriental colouring or associations of the stories.

We feel, however, that a little more economy in the use of poetic imagery or romantic epithets would considerably enhance the force of the writer's otherwise excellent style.

J. G. B.

The Lure of the Cross: by S. Halder, Member, R. P. Association. Crown 8vo. XVIII+ii+432.

It is a book written in good style and in high-flown language, with the express object of exposing the evils of Christian missionary propaganda. The author begins by giving a history of the activities of Christian Missionaries in India and the East, and then cites a large number of opinions of men of position who had an opportunity of studying the mentality of Eastern peoples, to show the disastrous consequences of Christian propagandism in China, India and other Eastern lands. In the chapter on Christian Ethics, the author cites authorities, to show the violent methods

adopted for propagating Christianity and he is eminently successful in proving the moral inferiority of the early divines and Church leaders, and their fanaticism. He also incidentally describes the violence of the Portuguese in India. The next chapter 'the acid test' is also written in the same strain. A few more chapters are devoted to prove that contrary to the views of many Christian scholars, the religion of Christ was not always associated with progress, and that even up to the middle of the last century, all the Christian races of Europe indulged in fanatical beliefs, erroneous dogmas, and often perpetrated horrible crimes in the name of religion. As instances of this the author points out the intolerance of all European Governments in matters of religion, their drastic laws against non-conformists, and those which legalised witch-burning, or the extermination of heretics, not to speak of those which imposed disabilities on Jews or other non-Christian sects. In the next chapters styled, "some illusions," "failure of Christianity," "proofs of failure," "baneful influence," the author exposes the real nature of the 'Christian piety' of the western nations, who profess to strive for the elevation of backward races. As examples of such *piety*, he cites a number of instances from history, and of these we may mention the constant lynching of Negroes in America, the extermination of the South African Hottentots by the Germans, the massacres in China after the Boxer expedition, or the numerous acts of barbarity committed by the victorious Germans in the late war.

So far our sympathies are with the author. All the instances of western fanaticism, or of barbarity are true indeed. Such instances can be multiplied easily. They have been admitted by western scholars themselves.

Yet we are at a loss to understand why the author, who shows so great industry and erudition, should attribute these evils to the inherent defects of the Christian religion. For the sins of its votaries, that religion of love and charity has received condemnation at the hands of the author, who proves himself blind to the nature of the teachings of that ~~master~~, who laid his life on the cross. This we think is not only harsh and unjust, but shows the acrimony of a dogmatic critic who has failed to imbibe the true teachings of history. Religions, like institutions, rise and grow with the mentality of the people who profess it. A teacher or a prophet is a superman, who creates or modifies a code of morality for the guidance of men. The usefulness of that code or its moral influence depends not only upon its own excellence but also upon the people who accept it or follow it. In the hands of a morally disciplined people, the teachings do credit to humanity; but when it is simply adopted

by a race or races culturally or morally low, it is in its own turn perverted. Such has been the case with all religions of the world. In the case of Christianity, its adoption by the barbarians who invaded the west, led to its own perversion. Similarly, Islam, when it was adopted by the Central Asian Turks, produced only savage conquerors like Taimur or Nadir. Buddhism also similarly produced its Gengiz or Kublai or the savage Tartars, who ravaged the whole of Eastern Europe.

Religions decay, furthermore, when their real teachings are forgotten. Such has been the case with Christianity in the hands of the proud white men, professing the religion of Christ, but really worshipping force and materialistic happiness. The white man has attained the present paramount position, not by his religion's but by human efforts (hankering after progress), and further by an unconscious desire to ease the problems of humanity through the exploitation of the forces of nature. In the midst of all this, racial and social problems have arisen. These led to struggles in which the old world of dogmas had to fight with the newer one of reason. The progressive races had to fight with those backwards. The incidents of war have led to tyrannies, brutalities, or intolerance, but gradually the horizon of human aspiration has widened, sympathies have enlarged, and will very soon make the situation ripe for a truer humanity.

Lastly, we think that while the author is too severe in his attacks on Christianity, a personal bias makes him bestow unmerited praises on Buddhism, which he describes as the "only religion free from irrational dogmas, and based on the broad principles of humanity." Propagandism makes him forget the other side of Buddhism. Nobody denies the greatness of the Buddha, or his fine teachings, but why should it be regarded as the only true religion. We in India had and still have codes of morality not a whit inferior to that of Buddhism—indeed some of these were utilised by the Buddha himself.

It is not the place for discussing the relative merits of such religions. But in conclusion we beg to draw the attention of the author to the fact that Buddhism had not an exclusive patent for all the virtue and reason of mankind. On the contrary, it contributed much to the political and social decay of India. It also produced its Genghiz or those Tartar Conquerors, who came only to destroy and ravage. In the hands of the later monks, it relapsed into a religion of doubt and dogma and failed to remain associated with reason or progress. In the 19th century most of its votaries, like the Chinese or the inhabitants of the Transgangetic peninsula, displayed nothing but narrowness, bigotry and intolerance.

The true progress of mankind depends upon a real hankering after knowledge, and the mutual understanding of the different faces of mankind and thus will real progress be made. As for India, there is yet hardly any chance of her reverting to Buddhism. That religion had once gained a paramount position in the country, but as it failed to satisfy the wants of the people, it disappeared from the land of its birth, which, however, still bows and will continue to bow to that great teacher. In the hour of her regeneration she cannot but look back to the great Master for inspiration and guidance.

N. C. B.

NOTES OF AN ACADEMIC "ORPHAN" OF THE STORM

So the curtain has been rung down on the drama which was being enacted for five successive days on the boards of the Western Hall, Senate House. 'The battle of the tubs' is over—the tempest over the teapot has blown away. For five long days the Senate House reverberated with the speeches of the old Senators of Rome! And what is the upshot? An extension of existing appointments for a period of four months to enable Government to come to a mature conclusion about an annual grant of three lacs of rupees!

We have read the Majority Report and the Minority Report with mingled feelings of sorrow and disappointment. Nowhere in either of the Reports do we come across the achievements of the teaching side of the University which has a local habitation in the Darbhanga Buildings and a name called the 'Post-graduate Department' of the University. Nowhere do we come across the original contributions in the domain of arts and science made by the teachers whose "Book of the Dead," the Post-graduate Reorganisation Committee purported to recite. The teachers themselves appeared before the Hall of Justice and exclaimed, "we are pure, we are pure, like the great Bonu of Heracleopolis we are pure" but the field of Yarru was yet far off—

"The fire seven times tried this,
Seven times tried what judgment is
There be fools alive, I wis."

Neither to the Majority nor to the Minority was ever wafted the name of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the founder of the great teaching University of Calcutta, who once declared that

the Post-graduate scheme is neither casual nor accidental but that there is solid basis on the rock of a definite conception of the true function of the University in the life of a nation." "Oh, whither is fled the glory and the dream?" —We might almost be inclined to say . . .

"For Greeks a blush—for Greece a tear."

The Majority Report appears to be suffering from "pernicious anemia." We are told by the mover that the Majority Report is the result of a compromise. We fail to discover the operation of the toximia and its character, whether it is focal or it is local or it is constitutional. The maximum period of service for a University teacher—not a novice in his profession but a teacher who has devoted years of faithful and loyal service to his *alma mater*—recommended is five years. What a span!—connecting New York and Brooklyn! The maximum salary recommended for an average Post-graduate lecturer—labelled in various quarters as "a supercaste"—is the princely sum of Five hundred rupees! Surely, in these days, when we hear so much of security of services and the sanctity of covenants, our University teachers, most of whom have brilliant academic records and some of whom have helped to "extend the frontiers of knowledge," should have received a more liberal treatment from our academic observers and financial healers! And a reverent Senate almost gasped when Professor C. V. Raman declared amidst the resounding crash of financial thunder that the University would have been wiser if it had requisitioned for thirty lacs of rupees a year instead of three lacs "asked in whispers mild" by the Majority!

But what shall we say of the Minority Report? The first question which naturally rises uppermost in our mind is

the question put by the mover of the resolution—"Who drafted it?" The speeches of two of the signatories, Mr. Oaten and Dr. Urquhart, were so conciliatory, so full of "the milk of human kindness" for the devoted services of the Post-graduate staff.

* * *

The Minority levelled serious charges against the Majority—charges of incompetence, or neglect of duty, or financial myopia, of confusion of ideas, of an attempt to stereotype the existing organisation, charges if they could be substantiated would surely have detracted from the "devoted labours" of the Secretary, Mr. P. N. Banerjee, or the "judicial perspective" of the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Ewart Greaves.

* * *

The Majority—we are told by the mover of the resolution—had no opportunity for considering the Minority Report—turned round and reported that the Minority Report was based upon misconceptions and misapprehensions of facts, upon inaccurate figures and illogical analogies, characterised by a desire to stereotype and perpetuate existing methods of teaching which both agreed in condemning in unequivocal terms.

* * *

The champion of the Minority Report claimed for himself and his colleagues to have effected retrenchment by a combination of "just, perfect and courteous treatment towards individuals" as well as the financial criticism of the custodians of public funds. "High instincts," indeed! "Before which our mortal nature trembles like a guilty thing surprised!"

* * *

And; yet, what is the data on which the Minority were attempting to "encourage" some members of the existing staff out of existence? An arithmetical calculation of lecture

hours divided by the magical number twelve and the number of teachers required was easily obtained. This strong mathematical calculation was supported by the "damning" evidence of Lucknow and Dacca—our younger sister and our daughter! The arithmetical calculation itself was, at times, wrong. What is sportsmanship to the administrator is death to the poor teacher!

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The Minority triumphantly points to the number of teachers at Dacca in a subject like English, for example, and attempts to justify its recommendation. Oh, Dacca has seven teachers and an assistant and why should Calcutta have more than one Professor; five whole-time teachers and seven part-time teachers, six of whom should be from colleges whose primary duty, we were told "lay obviously to the Colleges." Perfect logic indeed! If only the Minority had told us that the number of students at Dacca in the Post-graduate classes in English was about a tenth of the number in Calcutta and that the monthly cost of the maintenance of the teaching staff at Dacca for the year 1923-1924 was Rs. 4,537-8-0 while the budget allotment for Calcutta for the same period was Rs. 3,400. And yet the Minority blamed the Majority for not being able to institute comparison with the leading centres of learning in Great Britain! We devoutly wish for the consummation of this laudable recommendation. Let another "roving commission" be appointed and let its Report slumber in the unhonoured grave of its predecessor.

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The Minority overlooked the true basis of comparison: the variety and complexity of subjects; the needs of specialisation, the status and salaries of teachers and the number of students in each department and the actual cost per student.

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The Director of Public Instruction, by the way, probably forgot that he was a signatory to the Presidency College

Memorandum of 1913 which severely criticised the then existing Post-graduate organisation chiefly on the ground that the number of whole-time teachers bore a low proportion to the number of students and emphasised, quite correctly, the need for individual attention of Post-Graduate students. A philosopher might have wondered whether the "law of contradictions" has ceased to be valid: a historian might be pardoned for remembering the characteristic attitude of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain towards Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bills. The First he had opposed as it excluded Irish members from the English parliament. And the cry was raised to "the tingling stars" that Gladstone not only 'forgot' the British Empire but actively aided its disintegration. "Ulster fought and Ulster was right" and the Second Home Rule Bill was opposed by Mr. Chamberlain because he allowed Irish vote in British parliament on imperial matters. A friend of his asked him in quiet confidence why he was so inconsistent in his political attitude. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain honestly replied that he was consistent about one thing—the wrecking of the Home Rule Bill. Truly did the poet sing

"I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs
And the thoughts of men are widened through the process of
the suns."

But if the Minority erred, they erred like the hind-legs of a running deer. Our noble Senators chose weapons "trustworthy and true" from the parliamentary armoury and desired nothing but mature consideration and anxious deliberation. Messrs. Mullick and Mitter both earnestly pleaded for adjournment—the one from desire to acquire knowledge, the other for digesting the material placed before him. Mr. Mullik's appeal which finds an echo in the dilatory motion of Mr. James, a dozen years ago, would have surely been disposed of by the poet by saying: "Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise."

We wonder why Mr. Mullick was anxious for the postponement? Was it 'for a change in the angle of vision?' For did he not give notices of amendments supporting the Minority and at times running ahead of them? And do we not remember his burning desire to reform the University, "a honeycomb," of which he is now a "humming bee?" But that is by the way. In a fit of ecstasy, Mr. Mullick cried "Why rush on? Is the world coming to an end?"—Surely not. And what after all is the world? Have we not been told—

"The world is all a fleeting show
For man's illusion given
The smiles of joy, the tears of woe
Are deceitful shines, deceitful show
There's nothing true but Heaven."

Mr. K. N. Mitter's amendment for a review by the Committee was rightly considered by an eminent doctor as "cruelty towards animals"—and the Senate narrowly escaped the 'pious anger' and the 'holy grief' of the S. P. C. A.

Mr. Oaten in his very conciliatory speech in which he was pleading for freedom for the colleges—"freedom first, freedom second and freedom always,"—told us that he was an old hand at retrenchment! We nearly rubbed our eyes. Were we really outside Arden Wood? Does not he occupy the Chair which was recommended for abolition by the Bengal Legislative Council, a year ago? Apparently Carlyle is right. The "history of nations is but the history of individuals."

The amendment of Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri recommending the abolition of Pali on a communal basis and the regrouping of Sanskrit on personal experience.

fairly took our breath away. Did not the venerable Pundit earn a reputation for scholarship by his strenuous efforts at original research in the domain of Pali? His criticism of the method of teaching and the bolstering up of scholarship by the Sanskritists in the Post-graduate Department was answered by the mover of the resolution when he conceded all wisdom to the Senate but from humanitarian motives allowed a share in all the virtues to the corporation of teachers in the Post-graduate Department, who have unfortunately been kept out of the Senate by the extreme rigidity of the constitution, which an expanding University has outlived by a quarter of a century.

Dr. Urquhart's complaints against "the steady deterioration of standards of examination" should be taken due note of and we agree in the main with the learned Professor rather than with Mr. P. N. Banerjee who pointed out cases in quite recent times where students affiliated to Calcutta colleges had scored full marks at the Master of Arts Examination even with such a conscientious examiner as Dr. Urquhart. What we fail to understand, however, is that some of our Post-Graduate teachers in the Department of Philosophy have acquired a just reputation in the domain of scholarship and it is difficult to assume that they are "aiding and abetting in the steady deterioration of standard of teaching or of examination."

Mr. Mitter's plaintive appeal for a more correct statement of figures in an assembly, uninitiated in the elusian mysteries of the finance department, apparently fell on deaf ears. He "volleyed and thundered" against the fictitious book accounts of the University but the average onlooker regretted the burial of the scholastic instincts of an academician like Mr. Mitter under the heavy weight of account rules which it was

pointed out before the Senate on a previous occasion, neither effected economy from comfortable hill allowances and Conciliar travelling and halting charges, nor saved institutions and corporations from precipitate bankruptcy and obnoxious overtaxation.

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Far difficult was it to understand the speech of Mr. Stapleton, the distinguished Principal of the Presidency College. He signed the Minority Report, no doubt, in the capacity of a member, ignoring the opinion of his colleagues in the Presidency College, as set forth in the memoranda presented by him as Principal, which have unfortunately been stowed away in the "obscurity of an appendix." A veteran educationist made fun of 'an expert in Chemistry' attempting to whittle down the staff in English. We have too great a respect for the distinguished Principal to subscribe to such views. Do we not know that the experienced Senator has undertaken the teaching of the English Bible in his College? Men fight against symptoms. Mr. Stapleton diagnoses diseases with the unerring instinct of a physician and stops the evils at their source. Our one regret is that an Anthropologist like him—as he himself put forward that claim—should have contemplated the erasure of Anthropology from the curriculum of the University with equanimity. He might, at least, have agreed with Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri in his recipe for true anthropologists whom he advised to live with the wild tribes for, at least, a period of three years. After all,

"There is pleasure in the pathless woods

There is society where none intrudes."

We, however, regret that Mr. Stapleton did not think it necessary to give some consideration for research: he is a true sentinel in the scientific domain of knowledge and we are anxiously awaiting the publication of his already announced

work on Anthropology and his great work on Arabic Chemistry.

Dr. Brahmachari's "survey of mankind from China to Peru" made a veritable Quintilian stare and gasp and the wonder grew amongst the visitors that "one small head could carry all he knew." His study of the Post-graduate problem is first hand and perfect and he was indubitably dominated by the spirit of the Great Departed who largely helped the brilliant career of the great Doctor, and whose untimely death was mourned by the people of Bengal on the 25th of May last. And truly and timely did the mover shriek

"O, for an hour of Wallace Wight

Or of well-skilled Bruce to rule the fight."

Dr. Brahmachari's desire for reform was "like an unbodied joy whose race is just begun."

The battle has been fought and the Report has, we understand, been consigned to the care of the custodians of the public funds. Time alone will show whether the "piper and the tune" theory has been placed in the category of long lost causes or whether the doctrine has resurrected as "freedom and responsibility" and history alone will prove whether stabilisation and development is synonymous with abolition and curtailment. We might in the meantime—during the *locus poenitentiae* of four months—like true Christians, hope and wait and see.



HOMAGE TO THE DEPARTED GREAT

(The 25th May, 1925)

Ourself

SIR ASUTOSH DAY.

A year has rolled by since Sir Asutosh Mookerjee passed away at Patna. The University has been in the interval called upon to solve many difficult problems both financial and academic and every crisis recalled to our mind the grievous loss we suffered a year ago. The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor very faithfully echoed the sentiments of his colleagues when they met on the 25th May last to pay their homage to the departed great man. He said :

"We are met here this afternoon beside the bust of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and, in reverence for his memory, to lay this wreath of flowers upon his bust. The flowers will fall and fade and die and we who stand here will pass away but his fame and his memory will remain.

A year has passed away since there came to us the sad and sorrowful tidings of his demise at Patna. It seemed then unbelievable that he who had been so recently amongst us with all his fire and energy and virility unimpaired had gone from amongst us and that in this life we should see him no more.

The life of the University had so long centred round his towering personality, its energies and its activities were so largely his creation, we had so long looked to him for guidance and for inspiration in its work that it seemed like the end of all things. And as the weeks and months have rolled by since he passed away, whenever we have met together either in the Senate House or at the weekly meetings of the Syndicate or in the ordinary work of the University there has never I suppose been an occasion when those of us who have been called to conduct the affairs of this University have not thought of him and regretted that we had not his counsel and advice to rely on in the thorny problems which have arisen

for solution. Whenever at such meetings I sit as Vice-Chancellor in the chair which he occupied for so many years, my thoughts invariably turn to that impressive figure and I wonder what advice he would have given or what solution his acute and penetrating intellect would have devised for the particular problem under discussion. By the force of his personality and by his penetrating intelligence he dominated and illuminated every discussion in which he took part and we in this University have daily brought home to us the immense loss which his untimely death has meant to the cause of education in the province. Our thoughts instinctively turn this afternoon to our long discussion last week upon the report of the Post-Graduate Re-organisation Committee. This is no occasion for controversy and I mention with no desire to fan the embers of any past dispute; for all of us I know were striving according to our lights to produce the best results. But I mention it because, after all, the Post-Graduate Department was the crown and glory of Asutosh Mookerjee's work as an educationist and it is in this that his memory will chiefly live. In so saying I am not expressing merely my own views but the considered judgment of his colleagues and the University Commission, who considered it his abiding glory that he had established for the first time in an Indian University a department for the development and encouragement of research in all branches of learning.

Our thoughts turn this afternoon with sympathy and pity to the widow and children whom he has left behind him. Their sense of loss must be still acute and it is time alone which can assuage their sorrow and mitigate their grief. We are met to mourn his memory and in affectionate regard for the great personality, the lustre of whose fame still remains undiminished, and I now place this wreath on his bust as a symbol and sign of the admiration and respect which we feel for his memory.

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THE MOST HON'BLE MARQUESS CURZON.

Death has snatched away one of the very few Chancellors who have left their permanent impress on the history of this University. Lord Curzon initiated a new education policy in India and it was at his instance that the Indian Universities Act of 1904 was placed on the Statute Book. The Act has its obvious defects but we cannot forget that it has enabled our Universities to widen their activities and undertake teaching and research. His Lordship was also responsible for another piece of enlightened legislation—the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. As an academic body, we feel politics is beyond our province but whatever blunders Lord Curzon might have committed, his education policy has not been altogether barren. Curiously enough, the greatest contribution to its success was made by one of the most formidable opponents of the Bill, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

THE LATE RAI BAHADUR B. A. GUPTA.

By the death of Rai Bahadur Gupta the University has lost an able teacher and profound scholar of Anthropology. His was an eventful career. He began life as a subordinate service officer under the Bombay Government but he soon earned the confidence and esteem of his superiors and was sent out to London to take charge of the Indian section of the great International Exhibition. On his return to India he was appointed to the State Council of Indore where he served with distinction for nine years. Then he joined the Ethnographical Survey Department of India and rose to be its Assistant Director and the right hand man of the Late Sir Herbert Risley. Lord Curzon placed him in charge of the Victoria

Memorial Museum and he joined the Post-Graduate staff on the invitation of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. A scion of an ancient Prabhu family of Maharashtra, Rai Bahadur Gupte was a sincere admirer of Bengal and the Bengalees. Our heartfelt sympathy goes to the bereaved family.

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SIR ABDUR RAHIM, K.C.S.I., AND MR. S. N. MULLICK, C.I.E.

Our congratulations to our distinguished countrymen, Sir Abdur Rahim and Mr. S. N. Mullick, on the honours conferred on them by His Majesty the King-Emperor. Both of them are Members of the Senate and we are looking forward to them for help and guidance in the troublesome times through which the University is likely to pass in the near future. Mr. Mullick certainly deserved a Knighthood and Sir Abdur Rahim the governorship of an Indian province for their devoted labours for the State.

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THE KAMALA LECTURESHIP FOR 1925.

The University is to be congratulated on the election of the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Srinivas Shastri to the Kamala Lectureship for the current year. The Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Shastri does not require any introduction to our readers. His selfless devotion to the cause of our country, ardent patriotism and wise statesmanship are well known, and no one is more competent to speak on the civic duties of Indians than he. We have no doubt that the election would have had the fullest approval of the great founder, had he been alive to-day.

ADHARCHANDRA MOOKERJEE LECTURESHIP.

Prof. Adharchandra Mookerjee addressed a letter to the Registrar suggesting some new rules for the constitution of a Special Committee in connection with the Lectureship founded by him a few years ago. The suggestions have been unanimously accepted by the Senate. We reproduce the letter here :

To

THE REGISTRAR, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

SIR,

I am addressing this letter to you in connection with the donation of Rs. 9,000, which at the request of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee I made to the University about five years ago for the purpose of creating an annual lectureship. The present mode of selecting the lecturer does not seem to be satisfactory inasmuch as the whole responsibility, both initiative and final is left to a large body like the Post-Graduate Council. So long as Sir Asutosh was alive I had no doubt in my mind that the selection would be properly and regularly made. I now feel that it would be better if the following scheme be adopted instead of the present arrangement.

The third condition mentioned by me in my original letter to the late Sir Asutosh runs thus : "That the lecturer and the subject be selected by the Post-Graduate Council in Arts or Science as the case may be." This, I suggest, should be replaced by the following :

"3 (a) Not later than the 15th July every year a Special Committee of five members shall be constituted as follows :

- (i) The Vice-Chancellor ;
- (ii) The President of the Post-Graduate Council in Arts, when the lecturer will speak on a selected subject connected with Letters ; or President of the Post-Graduate Council in Science when the lecturer will speak on a selected subject connected with Science ;
- (iii) One member to be nominated by the Executive Committee of the Post-Graduate Council in Arts or Science, as the case may be ;
- (iv) One member to be nominated by the Faculty of Arts or Science, as the case may be ;

(v) One nominee of the Founder, namely, Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L.

Such nominee of the Founder being authorised to nominate his successor and the power of nominating a successor being inherent in the original or derivative nominee of the Founder.

(b) The Special Committee after such enquiry as they may deem necessary, shall not later than the 15th August, report to the Syndicate the name of the lecturer and the subject of the proposed lectures.

(c) The Syndicate may for specified reasons request the Special Committee to reconsider their decision but shall not be competent to substitute another name for the one recommended by the Committee.

(d) The lecturer shall deliver the lectures at the Senate House not later than the month of March next following."

In conclusion I should like to point out that it will be necessary to take steps for the appointment of lecturers for three years—1923, 1924 and 1925.

Yours faithfully,

ADHARCHANDRA MOOKERJEE.

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DR. BIMALA CHARAN LAW,

Our congratulations to Dr. B. C. Law for the fresh honour that the University has conferred on him in the shape of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal. His thesis on "Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective" was examined by Professor Bhandarkar and Dr. Barua and their verdict was unanimous. We expect further contributions to the Buddhistic Studies from Dr. Law.

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RECOGNITION OF PORTUGUESE.

Some Euro-Indian citizens of Calcutta applied to the Syndicate for the recognition of Portuguese as a vernacular like French, German and other modern languages recog

by the University. The question was considered by the Faculty of Arts and at their recommendation Portuguese has been included in the list of recognised vernaculars and classical languages by the Senate. The wealth of Portuguese literature is well known all over the world but to an Indian student the study of Portuguese has a special interest. Some Portuguese words have found their way in the vernaculars of India and what light the Portuguese records can throw on obscure corners of our history has been shown in an article published in the present number of this Review.

A NEW SUBJECT FOR THE B.A. EXAMINATION: LINGUISTICS
(OR, COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY).

The Government of Bengal sanctioned last year the inclusion of *Linguistics* as one of the subjects (for both Pass and Honours) for the B.A. Examination of the University of Calcutta. Only those candidates who select a language (Sanskrit, Pali, Persian, French, etc.) as their other subject, in addition to the compulsory English and Vernacular, will be allowed to take up *Linguistics*. The corresponding subject for the M.A. Examination is Comparative Philology. The subject should appeal to students with philological as well as literary tastes. There is a vast scope in it for serious students for research work in future. The philology of the Modern Indian languages, for example, is a wide field crying for trained workers who are needed badly to institute scientific investigation into both their present-day character and their past history. The B.A. and M.A. courses in Linguistics and Comparative Philology have been framed with a view to preparing future workers in a domain which is ready to yield to the enquirer, who must approach it in a scientific and must know the proper methods of study. Comparative Philology, moreover, has been already

recognised by Government as one of the major subjects for the Bengal Civil Service Examination.

The University has asked the various colleges if they are willing to arrange for the teaching of *Linguistics* for the B.A. Examination. If a suitable number of students who desire to take up this subject is forthcoming, and in case the colleges cannot immediately provide for teaching in it, undergraduate classes (third year B.A.) might be started in the University for the benefit of such students, agreeably to the wishes of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. B.A. students who intend to select *Linguistics* should apply to the Registrar, Calcutta University, or to the Secretary to the Council of Postgraduate Studies in Arts for further information.

The syllabus in *Linguistics* is given below :

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY REGULATIONS, CHAPTER XXXII, SECTION 6.

Linguistics.

This subject can be taken up only by candidates who take up one of the Languages specified in A(I), Section 6.

The Pass Course in Linguistics shall include the General Principle of Linguistic Science, Growth and Development of Languages, Phonetics, the Language Families of the World, and the Languages of India.

The Honours Course in Linguistics shall include the Topics prescribed for the Pass Course, to be studied in greater detail. In addition, it will include the Comparative and Historical Grammar of English, or of the Languages chosen from A(I), illustrated by selected texts. It shall further include a cognate language to be chosen out of an allied group according to a scheme to be recommended from time to time by the Board of Higher Studies in Comparative Philology. Easy texts in the cognate language shall be prescribed.

Text Books for B.A. Examination in Linguistics, 1927.

Pass Course.

Paper I.—General Principles of Linguistic Science, Growth and Development of Languages; 100 marks.

Book recommended : L. Bloomfield—An Introduction to the Study of Language (G. Bell & Sons).

Paper II.—Phonetics, Language Families of the World : 100 marks.

B. Dumville.—The Science of Speech (London University Tutorial Series).

Paper III.—The Languages of India : 100 marks.

Sir George A. Grierson—Article in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (in two parts), Volume I (London, Finsbury Circus, E. C. 4).

Sir George A. Grierson—The Languages of India (Calcutta, Government Printing Office).

Students are also to consult the following :

T. G. Tucker—Introduction to the National History of Language (Blackie & Son).

Honours Course.

Texts will be prescribed later on.

ONAUTHNAUTH DEB RESEARCH PRIZE.

The following subjects have been selected for the Onauth-nauth Deb Research Prize for the year 1926 :—

1. The Principle of Subrogation.
2. Torts by Animals.

L.T. AND B.T. EXAMINATION RESULTS.

L.T.—1925 :

20 students appeared of whom 13 were successful and 7 failed. Of the successful candidates, 5 were placed in the first division.

B.T.—1925 :

50 students appeared of whom 30 passed, 16 failed and 4 were absent. Of the successful candidates 7 were placed first division.

COMMERCIAL SUBJECTS FOR MATRICULATION EXAMINATION

The Senate on the 2nd May, 1925, accepted on the recommendation of the Syndicate the following resolution: That in Section 9, sub-sections 5 or 6 of Chapter XXX of the Regulations (p. 118) after (vi) "Elementary Hygiene—one paper"—the following be added:

(vii) "Business Method and Correspondence—one paper."

(viii) "Commercial Geography—one paper."

The inclusion of these subjects at the Matriculation stage we are confident, will be of great help to students taking up the Commerce course of this University.